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## CONTENTS

	PAGE		PAGE
EVENTS OF THE WEEK	539	Beddoes. By George Saintsbury	557
THE B.B.C.'s NEW VENTURE	542	Lectures on Poetry. By Barrington Gates	557
THE CRISIS IN YUGOSLAVIA	543	Letters to a Niece. By A. F.	558
IS THERE ENOUGH GOLD? THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS INQUIRY. By J. M. Keynes	545	The Cambridge History of India. By Edward Thompson	560
LIFE AND POLITICS. By Kappa	546	A Commonplace Work	562
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR: "The B.B.C. as Publisher" (Sir Maurice Amos); Scepticism and Toleration (H. G. Wood); Labour's Bellicosity (John H. Harris); Tariff Bargaining (E. J. Birdsall); Novels and Decency (P. J. Edmonds, and Leonard Woolf); The Double-Keyboard Piano (Cecil Gray); "The Tyranny of Longhand" (A. C., and Hugh T. Ker); Christmas Charity	547-549	Opening the Archives	562
EXAMINATIONS. By Sir Michael Sadler	550	BOOKS IN BRIEF	562
MISSIONERS OF EMPIRE. By J. B. Sterndale Bennett	551	AUCTION BRIDGE. By Caliban	564
PLAYS AND PICTURES. By Omicron	552	THE OWNER-DRIVER. By Rayner Roberts	564
DYNAMITE AND LAVENDER. Poem by Herbert E. Palmer	553	FINANCIAL SECTION:— The Week in the City	566
THE WORLD OF BOOKS:— "Whigs" and "Tories." By Leonard Woolf	555		
REVIEWS:— New Novels. By Lyn Ll. Irvine	556		

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## EVENTS OF THE WEEK

THE United States Senate has ratified the Kellogg Pact without any reservation and with only one dissident. The practical disappearance of the opposition was brought about by an ingenious compromise. It had become clear that a great majority of the Senators shrank from the responsibility of attaching reservations to ratification, and Senator Borah, who was in charge of the Treaty, was firmly opposed to Senator Reed's suggestion of a concurrent explanatory resolution. On the other hand, it was evident that many Senators were genuinely disturbed as to the possible effect of the Pact on the Monroe Doctrine, and, were Senator Borah to refuse all concession, the opposition would probably gather strength, and the Pact supporters would incur the odium of prolonging the debates, and thus blocking the passage of the Cruiser Bill. Senator Borah accordingly agreed to present a report to the Foreign Relations Committee, in which he declares that the treaty does not prejudice the freedom of the United States under the Monroe Doctrine; but he has added a paragraph to the report to the effect that its sole purpose is to put on record what the Committee understands to be the true interpretation of the treaty, and not with the intention of modifying its terms, as originally signed. No vote was taken on the report.

\* \* \*

In weighing the importance to be attached to American ratification of the Pact it must be remembered that, while Senator Borah, and Mr. Kellogg himself, have laid great stress on the fact that the treaty

imposes no obligations on the United States to take any action against a treaty-breaking Power, the course of the debates showed the Senate to be fully aware that the Pact might, in certain contingencies, have an effect, in practice, on the American attitude with regard to neutral rights. The United States clearly preserves, morally as well as legally, its complete freedom of action in the event of the treaty being broken. On no other understanding would the Senate have ratified the Pact, and it is essential that this fact should be understood and frankly accepted. Nevertheless, the overwhelming vote for ratification, the course of the debates, and the evidence thus afforded as to the movement of American opinion, give reasonable grounds for hailing the Pact as a first step away from isolation and towards co-operation in world policy. Whether it is followed up depends mainly upon whether the actions of the European Governments during the next few years tend to remove, or to justify, the American horror of Old World entanglements.

\* \* \*

King Amanullah has abdicated. The retreat of the Shinwaris to their mountain fastnesses was far from ending his troubles, for when the tribesmen had gone, he was still confronted by a nobility who were determined that the disturbances should be stopped at their source—Amanullah's blind love of innovations. His brother, Inayatullah Khan, who was all along the rightful heir, now reigns in his stead, and will apparently have a Council of Mullahs and Sirdars—priests and barons—as a check on his autocracy. The new Amir is, by all accounts, a steadier man than his brother. After Amanullah seized the throne,

Inayatullah must have lived for many years in danger of assassination; but he managed to obliterate himself, and sternly refused to allow his household to become a centre of intrigue. This speaks well for his self-control and good judgment, and as he is reported to be neither an indiscriminate Westernizer nor a blind reactionary, he may succeed in steering the middle course best suited to Afghanistan's real needs. The fact that his queen is a sister of Queen Surayya adds a picturesque detail to the change of monarchs.

It was natural enough that the Soviet Press should attribute all these Afghan troubles to British influence; it is more remarkable that a section of the Parisian Press and several well-informed and sober German papers should follow their example. An even wilder rumour has been circulated—that Colonel Lawrence, who was until recently serving as a private in the Royal Air Force in India, is the *fons et origo mali*. On this point, it is only necessary to say that no oriental ruler would intrigue with a private soldier, whatever his reputation, and that even if he wished to, the battalion commander would not give the private soldier the amount of spare time and freedom of movement which is necessary to disguised statesmen and politicians travelling incognito. The charges of the German Press are more serious than this wild story; but they are very difficult to understand, for they imply that it is to the interests of Great Britain that Afghanistan should be weak and divided. In fact, it is essential to British interests that Afghanistan, as a buffer State, should be strong and orderly.

The new Yugoslav Government is using its emergency powers with extraordinary energy. By virtue of those clauses in the Royal Proclamation which dealt with the Press, practically every Zagreb newspaper has been suppressed; the editorial staff of the SAMOUPRAVA, a Serb paper, decided to stop publication voluntarily. Political parties have been treated in the same drastic fashion; the Croat Peasant Democrats are declared "chauvinistic," and as chauvinism is strongly reprobated in the Royal Proclamation, they are to be dissolved and their meetings forbidden. Even the suppression of parties is considered inadequate, for all trade unions are now dissolved by Government command. It is impossible to say whether General Pera Zhirkovitch or King Alexander is mainly responsible for these orders; the responsible authorities evidently consider that there is a remarkable similarity between a nation and a battalion of recruits.

If these orders stood by themselves and could not be related to any antecedent circumstances, only one conclusion could be drawn from them: that King Alexander and his new Cabinet were trying to establish a crude autocracy by crude measures. But it must be remembered that King Alexander's previous conduct has not been that of an impulsive or dictatorial man. He only suppressed the parliamentary institutions of his country after they had practically broken down, and when their breakdown threatened the country with something like civil war. Further, these acts of repression have an impartial tinge: Croat newspapers and political parties have been suppressed; but only after the Skupshtina itself, and at the time of its suppression, the Skupshtina was a Serbo-Montenegrin assembly. It is still conceivable that the new policy springs from a desire to free the work of constructing a new constitution from the intolerable burden of past controversies, by blocking up all the sources of racial provocation. It is easier, however, to destroy than to

build up, and agitation is apt to become more dangerous by being driven underground. King Alexander's motives and success will alike have to be judged by his first steps towards reconstruction, and by his readiness to relax the repressive measures when the immediate crisis is past.

A strong effort is to be made when Parliament reassembles to revive the project of a Channel Tunnel. Just before the Christmas recess a resolution in favour of a tunnel was placed on the order paper by six Members—two from each political party—and it has now been decided to revive the Channel Tunnel Parliamentary Committee. The question has been allowed to rest since 1924, when it was considered by the Committee of Imperial Defence, which unanimously decided that the advantages of the tunnel were not commensurate with the disadvantages from a defence point of view, and that all that had happened in the previous five years in the way of naval, military, and air development had tended without exception to render the tunnel a more dangerous experiment. At Mr. MacDonald's request, four ex-Prime Ministers—Lord Balfour, Lord Oxford, Mr. Lloyd George, and Mr. Baldwin—attended the meeting at which this decision was reached, but it is reasonable to suppose that the opinion of the military members of the Committee was allowed to settle the issue. We know, for instance, from various letters which have appeared in the TIMES during the last few days that Lord Haig was opposed to a tunnel, taking the view that air-bombing had increased the danger, and that if the Germans had reached the Channel ports they could have bombed a zone round the English entrance and poured troops into England.

The discussion at the Committee of Imperial Defence is said to have occupied forty minutes. It would probably have taken a much longer time if Mr. Churchill had been present. The DAILY MAIL reprinted, on Monday, an article which Mr. Churchill contributed to the SUNDAY DISPATCH of July 27, 1924, in which he dealt vivaciously with the Committee's decision. The support of four hundred Members of Parliament had, it appears, been obtained for the proposed tunnel.

"Four hundred members," wrote Mr. Churchill. "Five Prime and ex-Prime Ministers and forty minutes. Quite a record! One spasm of mental concentration enabled these five super-men, who have spent their lives in proving each other incapable and misguided on every other object, to arrive at a unanimous conclusion."

In the rest of the article, Mr. Churchill stated a case, which at least requires to be answered, against the alleged strategic dangers of a tunnel. It will be interesting to see whether the Chancellor can secure a better hearing for the project now that it is being revived. The public has yet to be convinced that the military objections have any substance; indeed, we have not yet been told, with any precision, what the military objections are. On the other hand, the advantages of a Channel tunnel in facilitating trade and travel are obvious, though it is no doubt possible to exaggerate them.

The story of the formation of the Campbell-Bannerman Government at the end of 1905 has been so often told that it seemed unlikely that there was much more to add. But the account given by Lord Haldane in the extract from his Memoirs which appeared in Tuesday's TIMES adds many details of the most curious interest. According to Lord Haldane, the famous



demand that "C.B." should go to the Lords formed part of a previous compact between Asquith, Grey, and Haldane of so definite a nature that "at Asquith's request, I had communicated our agreement to the King, and had been summoned to Balmoral, where the King had intimated his warm approval of it; this took place in October, 1905." The points covered by this agreement appear to have been that Mr. Asquith should be leader in the House of Commons, that Sir Edward Grey should be Foreign Secretary, and that Lord Haldane should not only be Lord Chancellor, but should act as the chief spokesman on foreign and colonial affairs in the House of Lords. Lord Haldane declares that the three men had decided to "act together and stand out jointly" for these demands. But on this point there must have been some misunderstanding, for, as is well known, Mr. Asquith, who would have been the last man to go back on a definite undertaking, accepted C.B.'s invitation to join the Cabinet, while the Prime Minister was still considering the ultimatum presented by Sir Edward Grey. The revelation that the agreement, whatever its precise nature, had been communicated to King Edward, who had warmly approved, is, however, the most curious feature of this part of Lord Haldane's narrative.

The King's name also occurs prominently in his account of how he and Sir Edward Grey were ultimately persuaded to join the Cabinet. Sir Arthur Acland's influence was not, it appears, the decisive, or even an important, factor. What really moved Grey was that Haldane had come to doubt the wisdom of standing out; the persuasions which had unsettled Haldane's mind were those of Lady Horner; and Lady Horner's persuasions had taken the following form: "From your own point of view and that of Grey this may be right, but you told the King that you would not leave him in the lurch—besides this you are making a real risk for the Free Trade cause." This led Haldane to doubt whether he and Grey had "sufficiently considered the ethical question"; and the two men reconsidered it with the results we know. As one reads this singular and candid narrative, one is conscious of how far we have moved since 1905. It is difficult to imagine to-day such intimate communications, between leading politicians and the King, as to the terms on which they might consent to enter a future Cabinet. One is also impressed with the fallibility of human judgment. "How can one join a Government," Lord Haldane said to Lady Horner, "which is almost bound to be weak and discredited from the beginning?" Yet that Government proved to be not only reasonably harmonious, but the most capable Government of modern times.

The Polish Government has replied to the Soviet proposals for a protocol declaring that both Governments accept the obligations of the Kellogg Pact, without awaiting ratification by the other signatories. In this reply, the Polish Government accepts the proposal in principle, but, before signing the protocol, desires that the offer should be extended to the other Baltic States and also to Roumania. The Soviet Government has now announced its willingness to invite the Baltic States to adhere to the protocol as soon as they have formally notified their adherence to the Pact, and to extend the invitation to Roumania on the same conditions. The importance attached by the Soviet Government to their proposal is clearly shown by the fact that although the Polish Note was only handed to M. Litvinoff at 9 p.m. on January 10th, the new Soviet Note was handed to the Polish Chargé d'Affaires within twenty-seven hours of that time. The attitude of the

other Baltic States, and still more, of Roumania, will be watched with interest.

The division in the French Chamber on the vote of confidence in the small hours of last Saturday morning, which gave the Poincaré Cabinet a majority of 74, was on strictly party lines. All the groups of the Centre and the Right voted solidly for the Government, and all the groups of the Left, with the exception of six Radicals, solidly against it. The situation is thus what it was at the end of 1923, when the Radicals had deserted the "Bloc National." In spite of his repeated declarations that he would not govern against the Radicals, and his undoubted unwillingness to be the prisoner of the Right, M. Poincaré decided before the debate to remain in office if he got a majority, whatever the character of the majority might be. No doubt he was influenced by his desire to retain the deciding voice in the matters of reparations and Rhineland evacuation, and also by the insistence of M. Doumergue, who was reported—probably erroneously—to have said that he would not accept M. Poincaré's resignation unless the Government were defeated in the Chamber, but it is probable that he still hopes to win back the Radicals or the majority of them, and he has some reason to hope it.

The political position in Manchuria has been either complicated or simplified by the execution of Generals Yang Yu-ting and Chang Yin-huai, at the orders of Chang Hsueh-ling. If the incident proved that there are now two parties in Manchuria—the one for and the other against union with Nanking—the situation would be serious; for even if the Japanese Government were strictly neutral in behaviour, recent declarations from official sources show that it is not neutral in sympathy, and a civil war in Manchuria would almost certainly provoke fresh anti-Japanese feeling in China, and delay indefinitely a settlement between Tokyo and Nanking. Fortunately, these summary executions seem, at present, more sensational than significant. The Japanese Consul General at Mukden has lost no time in declaring that the incident does not affect Japan, because Japan will not permit it to do so. Whatever their feelings about the union of Mukden and Nanking, the Japanese probably prefer order in a Nationalist Manchuria to disorder in an independent one. Nevertheless, Japanese statesmen have been indiscreet in expressing opinions on a matter in which Nationalist China is extraordinarily sensitive, and they cannot complain if their utterance increases Chinese suspicions as to Japanese intrigues.

The IRISH STATESMAN, the scholarly and independent journal edited by Mr. G. W. Russell (Æ.), has recently been involved in a libel action arising out of a book review, and has been obliged to spend a very large sum on the costs of defence. No less than £2,500 is said to be required, and this expenditure jeopardizes the existence of the paper which has done and is doing so much for the cause of enlightenment in Ireland. We are very glad to see, therefore, that a number of distinguished Irishmen and Irishwomen, representing divergent views, are appealing to the thinking public to join them in coming to the aid of the IRISH STATESMAN and its reviewer, by helping them to defray their costs. Among the signatories to the appeal are Lord Lansdowne, Lady Gregory, Mr. Bernard Shaw, and Mr. Robert Lynd. Readers of Æ.'s remarkable article on the Irish Censorship, in a recent issue of THE NATION, will have no doubt of the importance of preserving the organ which he controls in Ireland.

## THE B.B.C.'S NEW VENTURE

**A** POSTSCRIPT to our article of last week on "The B.B.C. as Publisher" is, we think, desirable. Last Friday the Prime Minister acceded to the request of the newspaper organizations for an interview, and received a deputation. As a sequel to this interview, the deputation met the authorities of the B.B.C. and reached a "basis of agreement," the terms of which have been published in the Press. This very curious agreement deserves examination; for the issues with which it deals, and of which for the time being it presumably disposes, are questions of real public interest. If it be true, as some maintain, that the secret of the political success of the British people has lain in evading by some illogical and superficial compromise every issue of principle as it has arisen, the best British traditions have undoubtedly been maintained. But we have our doubts as to the historical accuracy of this doctrine; and we cannot regard the present agreement as one of the more happy examples of our national practice of "give and take."

What are the main features of the agreement? The B.B.C. undertakes to "recognize and deal with" a committee which is to be established to represent the newspapers and other interests. It agrees to discuss any new publishing ventures which it may contemplate with this committee, and to consider its representations as to existing publications. It states that "it is not intended that the LISTENER should contain more than 10 per cent. original contributed matter not related to broadcasting." It adds "as evidence of its good will" that "it does not intend to accept for the LISTENER more advertisements than are necessary with its other revenue to cover its total cost."

This arrangement seems to us much more likely to cause constant friction than to serve any intelligible purpose. The position of the publishing organizations has been that it is illegitimate for the B.B.C., endowed as it is with a statutory monopoly of broadcasting, to conduct a paper like the LISTENER, which is calculated to compete seriously and unfairly with existing journalistic enterprises. But, as we argued last week, the competitive character of the LISTENER is inherent in the whole conception of the paper, and does not turn on such details as those with which the agreement deals. The understanding that not more than 10 per cent. of its contents are to consist of "original contributed matter not related to broadcasting" may prove a vexation to the editor. It may hamper him in his efforts to produce a "bright," popular literary weekly; but it will not alter the fact that a bright, popular literary weekly is what he is trying to produce. The first number of the LISTENER has now appeared, and our readers are therefore in a position to judge whether we have exaggerated in saying that the extracts from the broadcast talks are selected and presented, not so as to meet the desire of students for a record of the more important talks, or so as to serve any serious educational purpose, but so as to reproduce as closely as possible the familiar features of a certain type of

popular weekly journal. The understanding as to the amount of original matter may possibly make it difficult for the LISTENER to become a really efficient paper of this type; but stipulations designed to ensure a certain measure of inefficiency do not seem to us an appropriate or a very desirable safeguard.

Or take the understanding about advertisements. On the face of it, this does not seem a businesslike arrangement. The advertisement manager of the LISTENER has so far been extremely enterprising. Is he to be told, if the LISTENER proves a commercial success, to be rather slack and unenterprising? Is not the arrangement most likely to mean in practice that, as profits are made, the expenditure on the LISTENER will be increased; that the reading-matter will be enlarged, the quality of the paper improved, and so forth? And this, though it might be very satisfactory to the LISTENER's readers, would be the opposite of a safeguard to the journals with which it will compete.

The most important feature of the agreement is, no doubt, the promise of the B.B.C. to discuss the conduct of their publications with a committee representative of the newspaper organizations. But, by accepting the agreement as a whole, these organizations appear to us to have compromised their position for taking an effective line on this committee, in Parliament, or anywhere else. They have, in effect, admitted that the LISTENER is a legitimate undertaking, provided that it does not contain more than 10 per cent. of matter that is both original and irrelevant to broadcasting. They have, in other words, admitted the point of principle. And the point of principle is the one issue in the whole controversy which is really worth discussing.

On this issue we readily admit that there is much to be said on both sides. We do not pretend that we dealt with it exhaustively last week; nor can we attempt to do so now. The point of "unfair competition" is, in our judgment, certainly not conclusive. If it were a case of some physical commodity which the B.B.C. could produce advantageously as a sort of by-product of their main activities, we should not object to their producing it (provided that they did so on an economic basis), however hardly their competition might bear on existing producers. The public interest in securing the most economical and efficient production of the commodity would seem to us, in such a case, the decisive factor. But the case of journalism clearly stands on a different footing. For we are dealing here with one of the instruments of the formation and expression of opinion; and it is clear at once that anything in the nature of a monopoly in this sphere would be undesirable in the extreme. It is of the first importance that there should always be in every branch of journalism a large number of independent papers, which between them will give scope for the expression of every variety of opinion on every variety of subject, including opinions and subjects which to many it will be offensive to discuss, and which it would therefore be quite impossible for a semi-official organ to mention.

The establishment of the LISTENER is not, of course, in any formal conflict with this principle. It will



possess no statutory monopoly of weekly journalism; it will be only one weekly paper among others, and it is unlikely to drive all its competitors from the field. But, if it is admitted that it is essential in the public interest that the competition of independent organs should be maintained, it is clear that the question of the fairness of the conditions of the competition cannot lightly be dismissed. It is manifest that the *LISTENER*, by virtue of its association with the broadcasting monopoly, will possess competitive advantages of great power. Indeed, they may well prove more powerful than anyone as yet realizes. We do not, therefore, think it fantastic to suppose that the *LISTENER* might eventually acquire something approaching a monopoly of weekly journalism of the twopenny variety.

It is at all events fairly certain that a large section of the population will come to depend for their weekly journalism, as they do already for their wireless programmes, on the fare which the B.B.C. chooses to provide. And this will mean a tremendous concentration of the power of influencing opinion and forming tastes and standards in the hands of a semi-official body.

But is this necessarily to be deplored? Sir Maurice Amos, in a letter which we publish this week, argues that it is not; and the reasons which he gives for his view will carry weight with many. A newspaper combine, after all, represents a tremendous concentration of the power of influencing opinion. Is it really objectionable in these circumstances, is it not rather a useful corrective to the undue influence of millionaire newspaper enterprise, that a comparable power should be wielded by a responsible body, which is not governed by commercial motives, but is animated by a genuine sense of public service? This argument is undoubtedly seductive. We do not find it convincing. The disadvantages of a trustified Press are obvious and glaring. The dangers of an official or semi-official Press are subtle and insidious. And the latter is not likely, so far as we can see, to supply the deficiencies of the former, or to counteract its influence in those respects in which it most needs counteracting.

But the issue, we agree, is a large and complex one; and we are less concerned to pronounce upon its merits than to insist on its importance. The *LISTENER* represents a radical departure from a long-established British tradition against anything in the nature of an official Press. Sir Maurice Amos asks why we should regard this tradition as decisive, any more than the tradition against the Channel Tunnel. We do not. If that tradition cannot be justified in the light of modern conditions, by all means let us throw it on the scrap-heap. But before abandoning such traditions, we ought, as it seems to us, to realize clearly what we are about. We should object to the Channel Tunnel being built, before Parliament had had an opportunity of considering objections and coming to a deliberate conclusion. And in the same way we think it undesirable that a semi-official Press should be established in our midst, without any consideration by Parliament of the desirability of so far-reaching an innovation.

## THE CRISIS IN YUGOSLAVIA

**W**HEN a King who has shown exemplary tact and patience in the working of a democratic constitution, suddenly overthrows that constitution, amidst the plaudits of large sections of his subjects, and sets up an unfettered autocracy, the explanation must clearly go back a good deal further than the latest Cabinet crisis. King Alexander's troubles, in fact, have their roots deep in the history of the Southern Slavs.

Anyone who sought an explanation from the pages of a geographical text-book of Yugoslavia, would find it difficult to understand why that country should be troubled by fierce racial controversies. The inhabitants are mostly of a single racial stock, and speak one language. It is true that their speech is divided into dialects, and that a Slavonian peasant from the north-east would not find it easy to keep up a conversation with a Montenegrin mountaineer; but any two educated men of the Triune kingdom could exchange opinions on any subject, however intricate, as easily as a Scotsman and an Englishman. There are differences of religion, the Croats and Slovenes in the north being mainly Roman Catholics, while in Serbia and Montenegro the inhabitants are mostly of the Greek Church. But toleration and scepticism have spread even to the Balkans, and these religious differences would not, in themselves, divide the kingdom into utterly antagonistic parties. The sources of the present controversy are political, but are not the less deep-seated.

All details of the early history of the Serbian and Croatian Slavs are lost, or, rather, they were never recorded; but a few, very significant, facts are to be found in the laconic and uncritical histories of mediæval Europe. The Serbo-Croats were never united into one kingdom. There were Serbian kings, but they did not rule over the whole race. There were also Slovenian and Croatian kings, or overlords; but their dynasties never lasted long. Roughly speaking, the northern Serbo-Croats came under the domination of the Kings of Hungary; the southerners under that of the Kings of Serbia. After Kosovo, the southerners were transferred to Turkish rule. This was the decisive difference: for the systems of government under which the two sections of the race lived for centuries created differences of thought and custom which a common language has never eradicated.

The Serbs and Montenegrins emerged from Turkish rule in the social condition of all Christian countries who had lived under the dominion of the Sultan and his pashas. The old territorial nobility was gone; and the land was partitioned amongst peasant farmers who paid the land tax, the common source of revenue of all Oriental dynasties. The village communities discussed and settled their petty concerns; everything else was administered from the centre. The country was, in fact, in a condition somewhat similar to that to which the revolutionary leaders of France brought their country in 1793. The French system of government was most suited to it, and it was more or less on French lines that the country was governed. There was a Parliament with a Serbian name (*Skupshtina*) and French attributes; there were *Zupans* who did the work of French prefects; there was an army recruited and officered in the French way, generals who behaved like Boulanger; and law courts which administered justice and injustice in the French manner.

The northerners had a very different history. As part of the Hungarian kingdom, they were also part of feudal Europe, and what is more important still, part of the Empire. For centuries they lived under the local autonomies and petty sovereignties which were the very essence

of the Imperial system. The territorial nobility retained their lands and privileges; and when, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the Austrian Emperors endeavoured to put a little order and regularity into their chaotic Empire, traces of the old system were visible in every paragraph of their legislation. The "Nagoda," or law regulating the relations between Hungary, Croatia, and Dalmatia, is a typical example. Volumes have been written to prove that the law gave Croatia the status of an independent monarchy; volumes have been written to disprove it. The "Bans" or governors of Croatia assumed that Croatia was a province. But, province or kingdom, Croatia had its Diet, its educational system, and its language.

When these peoples came together after the war to form the new kingdom of the Serbs, the Croats, and the Slovenes, their diverse histories were bound to prove a source of difficulty. The Serbs and the Montenegrins were the predominant partner in the new State; but the Croats and the Slovenes represented the more highly developed social life. It was inevitable that the latter would soon become disillusioned and discontented, unless they were granted a large measure of local autonomy, such as they had habitually enjoyed. The new constitution, which was not completed until 1921, did make tolerable provision for the Croat and Slovene provinces; and, if the local assemblies had been immediately convened, the population might have settled down fairly contentedly. But those parts of the constitution which related to the local and provincial governments were not put into force for six whole years, during which the populations lived under a galling provisional system. The authorities at Belgrade would allow no act of administration in the outer provinces unless it had been referred to them. In this they were not deliberately tyrannical; they were only carrying out the French system to which they were accustomed.

Under these conditions discontent among the northern peoples grew rapidly and became acute. The Croats and the Slovenes came to ask themselves what they had really gained by their "liberation" from Austro-Hungarian rule. Daily experience brought home to them what they had lost. Hungarian rule was not liberal, but at least the mechanism of administration worked tolerably well. Taxes were equitably levied; municipalities, schools, universities, and hospitals were well managed; the conscription laws were fairly enforced. These are the operations of government that most affect the life of the ordinary citizen, and in these respects, little change was made even by the abrogation of the Croatia-Slavonian constitution some ten years before the war. But, in all these respects, the rule of Belgrade made a noticeable change, and a change definitely for the worse. It was a source of grievance that the Croats and the Slovenes, owing to a more efficient system of revenue collection, paid more per head in taxes than those of old Serbia. Moreover, and this was very important to the Slovenes, there were far better opportunities for making a successful career as a lawyer, a doctor, an engineer, or a business man, in the Austro-Hungarian Empire than in the new Triune Kingdom.

What compensating gains did the Triune Kingdom bring to set against these solid disadvantages? The fulfilment of the aspiration for the union of the Serbian-speaking peoples; that was all. But such aspirations are always stronger forces when they are denied than when they are satisfied. In fact, the idea of Slav unity had never made so strong an appeal to the Croats and the Slovenes as it had done to the Serbs. In the atmosphere of 1918, amid the defeat and discredit of the Austro-Hungarian system, it had gained, for a brief space, the attractions of a panacea.

But its roots in Croatian hearts were perhaps less deep than they appeared.

For several years, however, there was more discontent and criticism than sharp division. The Skupshtina was representative of the whole nation, and was split into parties which did not form themselves into racial groups. There were alliances between Croat Democrats, Slovene Clericals, and the Serbian parties; the northerners were generally represented in the Coalition Governments which formed, dissolved, and reformed at short, but irregular, intervals. Even after the last General Election (November, 1927), this state of things continued; for the Croats and the Serbian Dissident Radicals co-operated in opposition, whilst the Slovene Clericals collaborated with the Government. It still seemed probable that the Triune Kingdom would get its motive force from the internal combustion of its domestic controversies, in the manner of the one and indivisible republic.

But in another respect the elections of 1927 had made a fissure between the north and south. Under the leadership of M. Raditch, the Croat Democrats had solidified into a national party. Also Croat speakers in the Opposition regularly made utterances in the Skupshtina and elsewhere which were more than critical. Speaker after speaker expressed the opinion that co-operation with Serbia was dragging Croatia downhill; comparatively trivial incidents provoked outbursts of this purely Croatian sentiment which sounded like a jarring accompaniment to the ordinary discords of the Skupshtina. A typical case occurred early last year. Parliament was inquiring into allegations that the police authorities were exceeding their authority; after a few days of fruitless debate, the Croats brought into the Skupshtina a naked man who had been shamefully beaten and flogged. The hotheads of the party said that this maltreated wretch was a symbol, or emblem, of Serbian rule, that it was degrading to co-operate with a Government which sanctioned such barbarous usage. The Montenegrin deputies attacked the critics with their fists inside the Chamber, and with cudgels outside. This episode was one of many; when M. Punisha Ratchitch pulled out his revolver and shot down the Croatian deputies, millions of his countrymen probably regarded him as a proud patriot, who had resented an intolerable insult in the proper manner. M. Ratchitch evidently thought so too, for as soon as he had emptied his revolver he walked to the Minister of the Interior's office to pay him a formal call, and to report progress.

It is only fair to add that there are many Serbs who think very differently, and who sympathize with the Croats. Even now the Kingdom is not divided on purely racial lines. M. Pribichevitch's Democrats have strongly supported the Croatian deputies since the secession; Father Koroshetz and his Slovene Clericals acted with the Government to the last. Yet the broad line of division remains. A revision of the Vaidordan constitution on federal lines, which is the programme of the Croats and their supporters, is not only offensive to the ideas of centralized administration which the Serbs have adopted from the French, but seems to them a challenge to those ideals of Slav unity, under Serbian leadership, for which they fought the war. Practical consideration of the problem has been rendered difficult by a long exchange of insults, for the Slavonians are by nature intemperate. One of the most patriotic of Croat historians admitted that this national habit of complaining of everything, of adding insult to insult, was a chief source of his countrymen's troubles under Magyar rule. "Instead of making the best of things, they expended their energy in an opposition of unprecedented violence and fury." (Plivieric, *Beitrage zum Ungarisch-Kroatischen Bundes-*



*rechte*.) It is the difficulty of arranging the co-operation, essential for a programme of constitutional reforms, between parties animated by these ideas, and adopting these methods, that has driven King Alexander to cut the Gordian knot.

## IS THERE ENOUGH GOLD ? THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS INQUIRY

By J. M. KEYNES.

FROM the days of the Genoa Conference in 1922 anxiety has often been expressed whether the world's stock of gold would be adequate to its needs in the event of the great majority of countries returning to the Gold Standard. Professor Cassel has been foremost in predicting a scarcity. I confess that for my own part I did not, until recently, rate this risk very high. For I assumed—so far correctly—that a return to the Gold Standard would not mean the return of gold coins into the pockets of the public; so that monetary gold would be required in future solely for the purpose of meeting temporary adverse balances on international account, pending the restoration of equilibrium by Bank-rate or other expedients. Accordingly—so I supposed, and here I was wrong—the monetary laws of the world would no longer insist on locking up most of the world's gold as cover for note issues. For the contingency against which such laws had been intended traditionally to provide, namely, the public wishing to exchange their notes for gold, was a contingency which could no longer arise when gold coins no longer circulated. Moreover, to meet an adverse international balance, bills and deposits held at foreign centres would be just as good as gold, whilst having the advantage of earning interest between-times.

But I was forgetting that gold is a fetish. I did not foresee that ritual observances would, therefore, be continued after they had lost their meaning. Recent events and particularly those of the last twelve months are proving Professor Cassel to have been right. A difficult, and even a dangerous, situation is developing, which it is the object of this article to examine.

The point can be stated very shortly. The volume of notes in circulation depends mainly on a country's habits and on its income, and cannot be materially altered at short notice. Thus if the law provides that the Central Bank must keep not less than (*e.g.*) 30 per cent. of the note issue in gold, this gold is locked up and might just as well not exist for the purposes of day-to-day policy. A Bank's effective reserve to meet emergencies is, therefore, not its total reserve, but the excess over its legal reserve. It follows that if the legal reserves of the Central Banks of the world are fixed at a high figure, and if they prefer gold in their own vaults to liquid resources in foreign centres, then there may not be enough gold in the world to allow all the Central Banks to feel comfortable at the same time. In this event they will compete to get what gold there is—which means that each will force his neighbour to tighten credit in self-protection, and that a protracted deflation will restrict the world's economic activity, until, at long last, the working classes of every country have been driven down against their impassioned resistance to a lower money-wage.

The rashness and want of foresight of our monetary authorities was not fully disclosed until the passing of the British and French currency laws in 1928. But by the shape in which they have allowed these laws to be drafted the responsible authorities in Great Britain and in France have given their approval and example to useless and

illogical conventions which, if they are applied all round, cannot help but cause an artificial shortage of gold. Moreover, it is only within the last few months that the willingness of certain Central Banks to keep their reserves abroad, which lasted so long as their currency stabilizations were incomplete, has been yielding to a desire to convert more of their resources into gold situated in their own vaults.

Generally speaking, the Central Banks of the world are now required by law to hold in actual gold a proportion of their note issue which varies in different cases from 30 to 40 per cent. Some of them, notably France and the United States, require a fixed proportion of gold (85 per cent. in these cases) to be held against their deposits. The recommendation of the Genoa Conference that the law should allow reserves to be held alternatively in gold or in liquid assets in foreign centres has been widely disregarded. Apart from certain minor countries, whose currencies were reorganized under the auspices of the League of Nations, Italy is alone in allowing a provision of this kind. Moreover, during the last few months certain important Banks, which had been in the habit of holding a large part of their excess reserves as deposits in foreign centres, notably France, Italy, and Germany, have shown an inclination gradually, as opportunity offers, to bring these resources home again in the shape of actual gold. Germany's power to take gold in this way may be almost exhausted. But Italy will probably proceed further (the Bank of Italy held 38 per cent. of its total reserves in actual gold on January 10th, 1928, and 46 per cent. on December 10th); and France has only just begun (on January 10th, 1929, the Bank of France still held 49 per cent. of its total reserves, and 89 per cent. of its excess reserves at foreign centres). Where is the gold to come from—in addition to what is wanted for the normal expansion of the world's economic life—to meet the requirements of these new laws and habits?

The dimensions of the problem can be best indicated by a few fundamental statistics. At the present time the world's stock of gold available for monetary purposes may be estimated at somewhere about £2,000 million, of which about 40 per cent. is in the United States of America (not so long ago the American proportion was in the neighbourhood of 50 per cent.). The annual production of gold has been in recent years at the rate of about £80,000,000, of which the industrial arts and the East absorb more than half, leaving less than £40,000,000 for monetary purposes, or (*say*) about 2 per cent. of the monetary stock. The annual rate of increase of the world's requirements due to the normal expansion of its economic life is generally estimated, assuming stable prices, at about 3 per cent. This figure is not based on any secure evidence, but, if it is correct, and if Central Banks maintain their reserve practices, &c., unchanged, world prices will have to fall on the average by 1 per cent. per annum; or—putting it the other way—Central Banks will have to economize in their gold habits by 1 per cent. per annum if prices (cyclical fluctuations apart) are to be kept stable. At any rate, there is no surplus to allow a lessened economy in gold held in reserves.

Now to economize the use of gold by 1 per cent. per annum would present no difficulty if the Central Banks had not tied themselves so unfortunately with legal reserves which they are bound to hold to meet contingencies which can no longer arise. Of the total gold available for monetary purposes I calculate that something between two-thirds and three-quarters is locked away in legal reserves where it can never be used. Leaving out the United States, which is in a somewhat stronger position, I should say—it is difficult to make an exact estimate—that the free gold reserves of the Central Banks of the rest of the world do not exceed on the average about 10 per cent. of their

liabilities in respect of notes and deposits at call. This is the whole of their effective reserves to meet calls upon them. It is not much with which to meet all the chances and fluctuations of economic life. It follows that a very little upsets them and compels them to look for protection by restricting the supply of credit. But what helps each is not a high Bank-rate but a higher rate than the others. So that a raising of rates all round helps no one until, after an interregnum during which the economic activity of the whole world has been retarded, prices and wages have been forced to a lower level.

The following was the position of the four leading Banks of the world at the beginning of 1929 :—

	Date of Return.	(£1,000,000)		
		Total Gold Reserves.	Legal Reserves.	Of which Free Reserves.
U.S. Federal Reserve Banks ...	Jan. 9	541	304	237
Bank of England ...	Jan. 9	154	109	45
Bank of France ...	Jan. 10	263	232	31
Reichsbank ...	Jan. 7	134	66	68

But this table does not tell the whole story. The strength of the Reichsbank is probably temporary; this institution has been allowing its resources to take the form of gold, rather than foreign balances, in order that any future reduction of them may occur with ostentation. The apparent weakness of the Bank of France is altogether deceptive; for in addition to this gold the Bank of France holds abroad, mostly in London and New York, the gigantic sum of £257,000,000 in liquid reserves. More than £100,000,000 of this is believed to be in London. Thus the Bank of France holds in London, withdrawable at short notice, three or four times the total free reserves of the Bank of England, and also holds simultaneously in New York an amount equal to nearly three-quarters of the free reserves of the U.S. Federal Reserve Banks. The Bank of France is in the unprecedented position of being able, if she wished it, to draw to herself practically the whole of the surplus gold of all the Central Banks of Europe and America.

It is evident that we all survive, and the Bank of England in particular, by favour of the Bank of France. The Bank of France has used her position so far with an extraordinary considerateness, and there is no reason to suppose that she will act otherwise in future. But it would be wholly contrary to French mentality for the Bank of France to remain content with so little free gold at home. It is certain that she will use every convenient opportunity to increase her stock of gold; and no one can prevent her. The question of the sufficiency of the world's gold supplies and the abundance or scarcity of credit for the world's business lies, therefore, for the near future in the hands of the Bank of France. But however gradually and reasonably France draws her gold, there will be a continuing pressure of incipient scarcity on everyone else. Great Britain's free gold being near to nothing, accessions to the Bank of France must necessarily come from Germany, the United States, and the current output of the mines.

It is most timely, therefore, that the League of Nations should be directing attention to the position. Last May the Economic Consultative Committee of the League passed a resolution recalling the fears entertained by the Genoa Conference of the dangers which might arise from undue fluctuations in the purchasing power of gold. In June the Finance Committee, for whom Sir Henry Strakosch had written an excellent Memorandum, were authorized by the Council to consider how the League could most usefully assist in the study and solution of the problem; and at the recent meeting of the Council, they were authorized to appoint a special Committee. It is believed that some of the Central Banks are reluctant to allow the opening up of what might, they feel, be a dangerous discussion. But

everyone will suffer alike, in the long run, from a scramble for gold leading to a general restriction of credit. The Finance Committee of the League will be doing the world a service if, within the limits of tactful diplomacy, they press on with the work.

## LIFE AND POLITICS

MR. SNOWDEN, it may be remembered, hailed the safeguarding manifesto of the Bradford Woollen Unions as an example of "cynical humour." He affected to believe that the workers, in pretending to support safeguarding, were playing a subtle game with the employers, while really exposing the case by ironic argument. I do not know whether Mr. Snowden still holds to this ingenious explanation. It seems likely from the latest developments that the affair will turn out to be a bitter joke for the operatives. It is well known that the Unions concerned with dress goods were forced to fall in with the safeguarding employers' application by the threat of reduced wages as the alternative. A few days ago the National Association of Unions in the Textile Trade received a shock in the shape of a request from the employers' side of the Industrial Council to join them in the discussion of a reduction of wages throughout the industry. The employers behind this move are not apparently the same as the "safeguarding" employers; their trade interests are different, but that makes no difference to the net result, and it is certainly a nasty jar for the workers, who have surrendered Free Trade for a price, to find the price in danger of being withheld. It seems probable that this rather simple collection of workers have been out-manceuvred. They surrendered too soon. They should have got it in writing. It now looks as though the employers, having extracted the Trade Union support to the safeguarding application which they needed, will find reasons for pressing, all the same, for a general reduction in wages. If that is so, the workpeople will reap the reward of folly. They will be left "in the cart."

\* \* \*

When Mr. Baldwin speaks in Manchester next month his speech will be "relayed" to halls in six Lancashire towns. In this way a very large number of people will be able to hear the speech without seeing the speaker. They will not lose very much in this case, for honesty compels the statement that Mr. Baldwin in action on the platform is not a particularly attractive spectacle. He sounds better than he looks. There is, of course, nothing new in this multiplication of meetings by the telephone. It was, like other inventions in modern electioneering technique, first introduced by Mr. Lloyd George's organization. The Conservatives have taken it up on a big scale for their coming campaign, and several leading Ministers are to be heard in widely separated places simultaneously this spring. This is an obvious and necessary device to overcome the difficulty of reaching the multitudes of new electors by the voice. It would be hardly possible without it to attempt in the future to carry on political propaganda by meeting. The most accomplished spellbinders in politics in all the parties will soon be exercising their arts upon the populations of several towns at once, and over vast distances. There should be, in consequence, a marked revival of the power of oratory, and not, as some writers lament, a decline resulting from the absence of personal magic. We really do not possess a magician whom it is necessary to see as well as hear, with the notable exception of Mr. Lloyd George, who does act his speeches. Machinery, by some dignified as "modern science," is quite capable of supply-



ing the deficiency of vision. Our audiences will soon be looking in as well as listening in; and may watch a phantom Baldwin at the same time that they enjoy his phantom voice.

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The most interesting feature of the "miniature general election" that will soon—to the general disgust—be raging up and down the country promises to be the fight in South Battersea. It is quite possible that the Conservatives will lose the seat. They have been taken unawares, and were unfurnished with a candidate to take the place of that dashing motorist and popular politician, Lord Curzon, who goes reluctantly to the House of Lords as Earl Howe. The Liberals are fighting this seat for the first time in a long run of elections, and Mr. Albu should have a good chance. There is plenty of Liberalism in those parts. Lord Curzon was a strong man on the platform; he supplied an aggressive Conservative counterpart to the rather violent Left Wing Labour that now distinguishes the once Radical Battersea. In the old days, Mr. John Burns was predominant chiefly in the part of Battersea along the river, now known as North Battersea, but this constituency now by some freakish reason returns our only Communist Member of Parliament, that curious phenomenon, Mr. Saklatvala. I should like to see Mr. Burns emerge from his tent and take his luck again in Battersea. John Burns is now an old man, but he is young in self-confidence and in vigour, and it would be very interesting to see whether the old spell would work in an altered world. That Battersea, or any other London district, is in any real sense Communist I refuse to believe. Londoners, with all their faults, are humorists.

\* \* \*

King Amanullah has run so fast in the race of progress that he has fallen down. General Booth has progressed too slowly, and may in the end come to grief also, though I note at the time of writing that he is making a strong fight in the struggle for power. The fate of the two potentates, so diverse in their circumstances, so similar in their dangers, tempts one to moralize, but I hasten to suggest that we in this country are partly responsible for poor Amanullah's downfall. We turned his head for him with our newspaper adulation, and the special efforts that were made by the Government—with an anxious eye on the coming visit to Moscow—to impress him with our greatness, were altogether too much for the King of a semi-barbarous people, a man who had seen nothing of Western civilization before. It is dangerous to fill the mind of a child with too many marvels at once, and Amanullah was a child in the glittering toyshop of the West: certainly a most intelligent child. Unfortunately, as the event showed, he rushed back to his wild country and its fiercely old-fashioned population, mad, like a child, on making it play the wonderful game called Western civilization before even learning the rules. He had picked up in Europe only the externals of the business; the easiest to imitate, the most useless, but also the most provocative. It seems that he nourished the pleasing delusion that his subjects would become as civilized as, say, an inhabitant of Poplar, by wearing bowler hats and bonnets. The moral for us is that we ought to be a little more careful in entertaining "Eastern potentates." They should be initiated by degrees—for instance, it would have been better to have shown Amanullah a few photographs of ships rather than stagger him with the colossal spectacle of the Fleet at sea. He may be sadly musing now over the truth of the aphorism: "You cannot put a ten-dollar education into a five-cent boy."

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One of the best things I have come across in the magazines is an account of the importation, by Mr. Edsel

Ford—the young man who has been brightly but too loosely described as the American Prince of Wales—of a Cotswold slater into America. The story is to be found in the ARCHITECTS' JOURNAL. It seems that young Mr. Ford is building himself a house near Detroit. He wanted to recreate over there one of the gracious old stone-roofed dwellings that he had, doubtless, admired in Old England. Instead of putting up the usual "quaint" and horrible imitation, Mr. Ford determined to have the genuine article. Accordingly he sent over for thousands of stone slates from Gloucestershire, but it was found that America could not supply a foreman with the craftsman's knowledge of how they should be put on. So Mr. Ford imported for the job Mr. Gooding, an old slater from Stow-on-the-Wold, who gives a delightful account of his adventures in command of a cosmopolitan gang of hundred-per-cent. Americans, earning a dollar and a quarter an hour, plus seventy-five cents for petrol. I commend to my readers Mr. Gooding's comments on the American working man and his manner of life. This little story has its significance. It illustrates one danger that may attend upon standardization carried to its extreme, namely, the dying out of the fine old crafts, the fruit of individuality and tradition. When America needs the workman-artist, she may have to buy him from abroad, as she does Old Masters. At any rate, it is instructive to find a high prophet of standardization sending to poor old effete England when work is to be done requiring something beyond the reach of the machine—the special touch of the craftsman.

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In the second instalment of his Memoirs printed in the TIMES the other day, Lord Haldane explains in a frank and interesting way the success of himself and Lord Grey in overcoming the reluctance they felt to join C.-B.'s Cabinet. It is curious to speculate upon the course of history if their decision had been otherwise. If Lord Grey had not gone to the Foreign Office, it is conceivable that we should not have entered the war, and if he had, while Lord Haldane had not gone to the War Office, it is conceivable that we might have lost it.

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I am told that the correspondent of the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, in describing for the benefit of his home town, the ceremony of the enthronement of the Archbishop of Canterbury, noted from his position in "one of the undulatories," the presence of pilgrims, "among them being some as white-haired and venerable as must have been old Adam Bede himself." I am not sure, but I think the reference must be to the person once referred to in a local journal as "the Ven. Bede." Even so, I am afraid Bede was a little too venerable to fit into the picture.

KAPPA.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### "THE B.B.C. AS PUBLISHER"

SIR,—May I suggest that, from the standpoint of the public interest, there is perhaps rather more to be said for the project of the B.B.C. than you have brought out in your article under the above title?

The future of the Press is a recognized matter of concern. The danger of the main organs of opinion and information falling, in course of time, almost exclusively into the hands of great combinations of capital is manifest. When it is suggested, as it sometimes is, that a millionaire in search of some way of conferring a great and permanent benefit upon his country could not do better than to establish a newspaper whose impartiality and fidelity to the public interest would be secured by an appropriate foundation, it is always replied that such a newspaper would inevitably be so dull that nobody would read it. It is now apparently

suggested that a semi-official corporation, not working for profit, might conceivably run a paper so well that it would compete injuriously with periodicals conducted on a commercial basis. I must confess that, as a member of the public, I should like the experiment to be tried, not from any idle curiosity, but because, if it is successful, lessons would be learned of no inconsiderable public importance. If a Government office can run an irresistibly attractive weekly, it is not inconceivable that it might, in the future, be able to take a higher flight and publish a readable daily; and a daily paper whose impartiality in the selection of news was, in the last resort, controlled by Parliament, and which the public could be induced to buy, would, I venture to suggest, be an innovation as valuable as it would be unprecedented. I do not perceive why we should be impressed by the "British tradition which forbids any Government Department maintaining such an organ." Might we not as well rely on tradition as an argument against the Channel tunnel?—Yours, &c.,

M. S. AMOS.

25, Oakley Crescent, S.W.3.

### SCEPTICISM AND TOLERATION

SIR,—Robert Dell's letter in your issue of January 12th appears to me to raise a more important or at least a wider issue than the problem of the standard of decency in modern fiction. He asserts that "the basis of toleration is that we can never be sure that we are right." I venture to doubt this proposition. I even think it is quite inconsistent with Mr. Dell's later judgment that while "liberty of opinion may do some harm, . . . experience has shown that repression does much more harm." What happens to toleration if we can never be sure that we are right in so reading the lessons of experience? Most of us are sure that the earth is round. Is it, then, our duty to repress the village that voted the earth was flat? Or are we to tolerate this village because we ought not to be sure that we are right, and because the earth may be flat after all? I do not see that scepticism affords any sure basis for toleration. The basis for toleration is that truth cannot be promoted by repression and persecution. Mr. Dell holds that if the Catholic Church were justified in the conviction that she possesses absolute truth, it would be her duty to persecute when she had the power. On the contrary, I maintain that if the Catholic Church possesses the truth, and if she is fully confident of possessing it, she would know that it could never be her duty to persecute.—Yours, &c.,

H. G. WOOD.

Woodbrooke.

January 15th, 1929.

### LABOUR'S BELLICOSITY

SIR,—There is one point in Mr. Finnemore's interesting letter which I venture to think requires to be stated somewhat more fully, namely, the "five cruiser" vote of Liberals in 1924.

Mr. Finnemore apparently takes a view which I have heard from other candidates, namely, that the Liberal vote was directed solely against these "five cruisers." My own recollection of the matter is quite clear. The meeting which decided upon opposition and protest was held in a committee room of the National Liberal Club, and both Commander Kenworthy and Mr. Wedgwood Benn were present. The real gravity of the issue which was present in the minds of most of us was that these five cruisers represented a surrender of the Socialist Party to the programme of the Tories as set forth by Mr. Amery in January, 1924. His words were:—

"To maintain our cruiser establishment we shall have to lay down fifty-two cruisers within ten years."

To us this meant "selling the pass," for Mr. Amery in his speech had made it quite clear that these cruisers were to be, not the mere replacement of the "County class," but cruisers of 10,000 tons displacement with 8-inch guns.

So far as we know, the Tory programme is still the

menacing one of fifty-two cruisers of 10,000 tons with 8-inch guns by the year 1935!

This was the alarming prospect which determined our attitude. We also realized that by "setting the pace" for a new naval competition, America would inevitably be drawn into the struggle.

In this connection, may I point out that according to a recent reply by Mr. Bridgeman our completed programme of 10,000-ton cruisers in the water is seven cruisers (we have also another six nearing completion)? The United States to-day has not a single 10,000-ton cruiser on the seas! Yours, &c.,

JOHN H. HARRIS.

Denison House,

Vauxhall Bridge Road, London, S.W.1.

January 7th, 1929.

### TARIFF BARGAINING

SIR,—Mr. Ronald F. Walker's letter in your issue of the 5th instant and your editorial footnote to same, the one deprecating, and the other justifying, tariff bargaining, echo an old Victorian controversy which is worth recalling. In 1843 Ricardo unsuccessfully moved a resolution in the House of Commons, declaring the inexpediency of postponing remissions of duty, with a view of making such remissions a basis of commercial negotiations. He pressed for Free Trade without delay, restriction, or qualification. He was supported by Richard Cobden and other ultra Free Traders, but opposed by Gladstone and (*mirabile dictu*) Disraeli! In 1844 Ricardo again brought forward in the Commons a resolution affirming that our commercial intercourse with foreign nations would be best promoted by regulating our own Customs duties as might be best suited to our own interests, without reference to the amount of duties which foreign Powers might think expedient to levy on British goods. John Morley (from whose "Life of Cobden" I quote freely, but venture, after this acknowledgment, to omit the customary warning marks) added that the discussion was very meagre, and that the House was counted out. In 1860 Cobden, as the unpaid plenipotentiary of Lord Palmerston's Government, actually negotiated a Commercial Treaty with France. His policy was this time defended in the Commons by Gladstone and Bright, but opposed by Disraeli, and such an orthodox Free Trader as Villiers. To-day, we are constantly being told by the advocates of Safeguarding, not to make a fetish of Free Trade, but when fiscal authorities disagree so flagrantly on such a vital point as tariff bargaining, the safest course for the plain man is to be an *ad hoc* idolater. Peel put the matter in a nutshell when he said that the best way of fighting hostile tariffs was by reforming our own. Mr. Walker's fears of the pitfalls and quagmires that await a Free Trade Government embarking on a tariff-mongering crusade, are by no means illusory. Furthermore, would it ever be possible to depute to the task, an absolutely disinterested negotiator, or one whom the masses would accept as impartial and unprejudiced? Any man, whether capitalist or labour, would most readily bargain away the tariff which sheltered the industry of his neighbour, before he would take off the tariff which protected his own particular industry, just as that typical patriot, Artemus Ward, asserted his willingness during the American Civil War, to sacrifice all his wife's relations on the altar of his country.—Yours, &c.,

E. J. BIRDSALL.

Bank Chambers, Scarborough.

### NOVELS AND DECENCY

SIR,—I regret that my letter should have suggested to Mr. Dell that I am intolerant of novel sex doctrines *per se*; as a disciple of some of them I entirely agree with his defence of toleration, and hasten to make my meaning clear.

When desire exists without that approximation of mental values which would seem essential in a successful marriage, a very good case can be made out on grounds of pure reason, without reference to any moral standard, for its summary



satisfaction. Personally, I believe that such a course is likely in the end to produce more unhappiness than the misery which separation entails; but any system that offers us less pain than that which has as its ideal lifelong monogamous marriage will receive my support. My contention is, that whichever attitude we adopt it ought to be preceded by careful thought. Many novels of the irresponsible type are likely to suggest that our sexual behaviour is not a matter of much moment; and surely in any organized society such a suggestion is definitely anti-social. Perhaps we can derive some comfort from the probability that the readers of this meretricious nonsense are the most timid slaves of convention in their private lives.

I can well believe that, free from so many repressions, young people to-day are saner in this respect than ever; but I can assure Mr. Dell that we are not out of the wood yet, and reviewers could help us by discriminating against, and thus discouraging the writing of, those books which deal lightly with a subject on which we are really much more in need of guidance than the easy assurance of many of us would suggest—for now we are allowed to "try everything once," and the process of learning by this method is frequently painful.—Yours, &c.,

P. J. EDMONDS.

London, S.W.2.

SIR,—Mr. Pollard says that my statement that no one will disagree with the view that "novelists, like other writers, should write with a sense of responsibility on sex, as on other subjects," is an astonishing statement. He seems to think it astonishing because so many novelists do not write with a sense of responsibility on the subject of sex. And he seems to assume that on other subjects most writers do write with a sense of responsibility. If he studied, even cursorily, most of the books published, he would find that the majority of novelists are not more lacking in the sense of responsibility than, say, the critics, the historians, and the biographers.

It is also, I suggest, unsafe to assume that because a writer's view of moral questions is different from one's own, he must necessarily be deficient in a sense of responsibility.—Yours, &c.,

LEONARD WOOLF.

January 11th, 1929.

### THE DOUBLE-KEYBOARD PIANO

SIR,—Mr. Montagu-Pollock, in his letter of comment on my article dealing with the Moor double-keyboard piano, is right in saying that I raised a very large subject when referring to "the part played by instrumental limitations in our aesthetic pleasure." It is, indeed, such a vast and complicated subject that a whole volume could be devoted to it without exhausting its possibilities, and in consequence I was compelled, for reasons of space, to leave many things unsaid in my brief article which might have satisfied Mr. Montagu-Pollock's objections.

In the first place, I am sorry I gave the impression of being a kind of musical Canute, vainly endeavouring to stem the tide of progress. For although it is probably true, as I suggested, that the extension of instrumental resources beyond a certain point—unfortunately undefinable in practice—inevitably entails a diminution of aesthetic significance, it would be foolish to suggest that we must therefore resolutely reject every kind of mechanical improvement that is offered to us. Whatever the result may be, the unalterable laws of our nature impel us to go forward, and, as Mr. Montagu-Pollock rightly says, "it will be a bad day for music . . . when we are forced to shrink from the consequences of our own inventions."

I admit, in fact, that even if the tone quality of the Moor piano is inferior, even if by adopting it we shall make chaos for ever of the technical principles upon which piano music has hitherto been based, we should adopt it, nevertheless. My main contentions, however, which I do not think Mr. Montagu-Pollock disposes of, are, first, that the resources of the ordinary piano are already so vast that a

further extension of them is not needed from the composer's point of view, and it is an incontrovertible fact that all important developments of instruments in the past have come about because the composer imperatively demanded them for his creative purposes; secondly, that the Moor piano is superfluous in that it is a half-way house between the ordinary piano and the pianola.

For these reasons I do not think it likely that the Moor piano will ever be anything but an ingenious curiosity. I may be wrong, but I do not see composers turning to it as a medium of expression, and that is the crucial point, for the executant himself is not only innately conservative and averse to innovations, but also has no desire to see his difficulties made easy for him in his performance of the existing repertoire—rather the reverse, in fact.

With Mr. Montagu-Pollock's concluding paragraph I am in cordial agreement.—Yours, &c.,

CECIL GRAY.

January 14th, 1929.

### "THE TYRANNY OF LONGHAND"

SIR,—“An Old Journalist's” article is most valuable, pointing the way to a great saving of time and effort.

We might at least begin by adopting for general use the abbreviations used in writing an ordinary article for the Press:—

/ for the,  
t. for that,  
o / for of the,  
o t. for of that,  
wh. for which,  
wd. for would,  
cd. for could,  
shd. for should,  
Govt. for Government,  
w. for with,  
w. t. for with that,  
Br. for British,  
and the “g” for “ing” at end of word.

—Yours, &amp;c.,

A. C.

Fleet Street.

January 14th, 1929.

SIR,—There is in the North Walk of the Westminster Cloisters an early reference to shorthand which may be of further interest to those who appreciated the article in your issue of last week.

On the North wall, near its eastern end, there is a tablet to William Lawrence, who died in 1621, when only (I think) twenty-nine years old.

The whole inscription is, as Dean Stanley says, full of the quaint conceits of the seventeenth century. Here it is:—

“With diligence and trust most exemplary,  
Did William Lawrence serve a Prebendary;  
And for his paines now past, before not lost,  
Gain'd this remembrance at his master's cost.

“O read these lines againe: you seldome find  
A servant faithful and a master kind.  
Short-hand he wrote: his flowre in prime did fade,  
And hasty Death short-hand of him hath made.  
Well couth he numbers, and well mesur'd land;  
Thus doth he now that ground whereon you stand,  
Wherein he lyes so geometricall:  
Art maketh some, but thus will nature all.”

—Yours, &amp;c.,

HUGH T. KER.

20, Phillimore Gardens, W.8.

### CHRISTMAS CHARITY

The Committee of the Melmoth Hall Play Centre desire to acknowledge with grateful thanks a large consignment of books and toys from J. R. G.

## EXAMINATIONS

By SIR MICHAEL SADLER.

## I.

**F**ORTUNATELY, if each of us were allowed to take home, "for keeps" but not for sale, one picture from the Dutch Exhibition at Burlington House, we should not all choose the same. This or that Rembrandt: but not the same Rembrandt our great-grandfathers would have hankered after: a run on Vermeer, who would hardly have been noticed a hundred years ago: a few putting their first choice on a Carel Fabritius: one or two, for subtle reasons, on a Jan Steen.

It is the same with the products of English education. Bernard Shaw and the I.C.I.; Virginia Woolf and Sir Archibald Bodkin; Lord Birkenhead and the Home Secretary, would not pick the same people. Our taste is not standardized. There is not the same variety of demand in Scotland and the Middle West. But, in all countries, schools and universities try to turn out what their publics want. Our English taste prefers variety. Butler of Shrewsbury wanted one sort of youth: Keate another: Cotton of Marlborough a third: Sanderson of Oundle something different again, not to speak of Howson of Holt and Bertrand Russell. The German taste is always a little more uniform than ours. But it changes. In the young German student of to-day I do not recognize the pale, priggish young man whom Goethe denounced to Eckermann in 1828. Nowadays, the young German student is more like the English model which Goethe preferred. But George Saunders, who had the sharpest eye since Goethe's for the contrast between the product of the German higher education and the English—a much sharper eye than Matthew Arnold's—noticed a difference which the changes in German education since the war have not yet put out of date: the English, slower in taking up new ideas (though perhaps not less sensitive below the surface to what the new ideas portend), not so ready to swallow the principles of recognized experts; the Germans, more organizable intellectually, easier to knead into lumps, but disposed to take at second-hand too many ingredients of what should be a personal, individual judgment; therefore, not so expensively hand-woven as the best-wearing English are.

What, I suppose, we English most want our education to do is *agrandir l'homme lui-même*. For boys and men, that is, of our own breed. For girls and women, we have only just begun to want it. And I am not sure that Lord Delamere wants it whole-heartedly for the natives in Kenya or Lord Sydenham for young India, whether in purdah or not. Nor, to be frank, do all the English want it for boys and men in ranks less economically comfortable than their own. There is a lurking wish that education will not allow the young to forget *le droit du seigneur*. Discreet Englishmen of the Soames Forsyte sort do not dwell on this in public. But the Treasury knows that furtive avoidance of spending on primary schools what would make the young proletarian indistinguishable from a public school boy, is sure of tacit support. And rationalized industry—though glad to get hold of a little genius—will find cheerful, tame-tempered, fully certificated recruits the most homogeneous kind of human material.

The grittier kind of old-fashioned English stubbornness is out of date. For our immediate purposes in industrial and rural reorganization we want clean clay. The changes in English national education during the last thirty years have had the effect of cleaning it, grinding the grit out of it, picking the stones out of it, making it what S. T. Coleridge called "organizable" and marketable. Quite a necessary process. The English public school tradition,

with its liking for good form and its codes of conformity, has spread gently downwards into the new secondary and most of the elementary schools. If a bit of the material is very gritty, we put it through the sieve of a thin time. If it resists treatment, we get enraged at it, secretly respect it, and in the end (especially when its working days are nearly over) clothe it with honour.

Sooner or later, we shall want the grit back again—grit finely distributed and abrasive. But in the meantime, we have started a big grinding machine—a necessary counterpart of any State-aided system of education. To get the education was a matter of life and death for us. We have got it now, but we have had to take the grinding machinery into the bargain. We are running it at present on a low gear. All the straps are slack. It just works—but every year the tenders will have to tighten up the bands and screws. Can we find out which are the places where they ought to be tightened, where left loose, so as to leave the big machine not too eliminatory of the grit which is serviceable in English politics, religion, and trade discussions?

## II.

This is why the educational conferences held at the beginning of January, both in London and in the North, found that what they most wanted to discuss was the question of examinations. The speeches in the debates were practical, discriminating, and judicious. The tone of the meetings, never silly or extravagant, but serious and fair-minded. If any speaker had run amok on the subject of examinations and had failed to acknowledge the good intentions of our examining authorities and the honesty of English examinations, he would have felt the sense of the meeting against him. Certainly in France, and still, I think, in Germany, there is far more intellectual strain, more torturing anxiety of mind, about the results of the final examinations in secondary schools than anything we as yet suffer in England. But we are on the road which, if we miss the right turning, will lead us to this mischief. And though minds like Asquith's will come unscathed through any test, a good deal of what might be fruitful originality and mental independence will be jeopardized if we screw the machine too tight. At present we have lots of safety valves in England. But I wonder whether during the last thirty years the British Civil Services, here and in India, in the main recruited by competitive examinations, have been as fertile in administrative boldness and resource as were the men of the days of Rowland Hill and Edwin Chadwick, or whether we have heard, as often as perhaps we ought to have heard, of resignations of Civil Servants on grounds of principle.

## III.

Examination tests in schools and universities should be adjusted in order to secure the least risk of unintended injury. This is a scientific problem. The data are still imperfectly known. The facts ought to be ascertained. This can be done with the good will of the Government, of the examining authorities, and of the schools. The inquiry should cover, stage by stage, the whole field of English education, within which there are subtle, subterranean repercussions. It should be a patient, detailed scrutiny of examination questions, of great numbers of marked scripts, of methods of marking, of modes of revising examiners' results, and records of various examinations. It should have regard to health, to the physical coefficients of mental tests at times of crisis in age and growth. This review of the actual processes of examination should be accompanied by consultation of teachers and examiners. Those charged with the duty of conducting the investigation would need great insight into statistical methods;



knowledge of our varied educational conditions; sensitiveness to new tendencies in education (there are two distinct currents of educational thought in England now) and a good judgment of the social aims of English education. Their results, published in a succession of interim reports, would be a basis for discussion among teachers, parents, public authorities, and others concerned in the welfare of English education. Knowledge of the facts would prove the surest foundation for reform.

Without disparaging the excellent work of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education, and not forgetting the Secondary Schools Examination Council, I suggest that, at this stage, the method of inquiry should be that of a laboratory rather than that followed by a Departmental Committee. When we consider the complexity of the details to be examined and weighed; the number of different fields of education to be reviewed, and their interdependence: the experimental tests needed to check results reached by other lines of inquiry; the inadequacy of the material as yet available as a basis of discussion; we are drawn to the conclusion that a team of investigators working under one directing mind will be the best instrument for getting at the facts and for their arrangement in an illuminating form. The inquiry must take a long time if its work is to be done considerably and well. If, later on, as a result of the scientific inquiry into the facts, suggestions for administrative changes call for discussion by a large group of representative people, a Royal Commission may be required. But the first stage should be a scientific inquiry—competent, long-continued, and submitting its findings at recurrent intervals for public consideration and criticism.

#### IV.

For us in England examinations will always be necessary. Our danger lies in their maladjustment. Examinations are prone to the defect of putting a premium less on skill than on knowledge. Unless this tendency is watched and checked, the prospective demands of an examination change the learner's attitude of mind from curiosity to assimilation; from creative activity to the memorizing of predigested facts or of generalizations framed for him by other minds; and from necessarily slow attempts at independent mastery to the accumulation, under a sense of hurry, of materials which will be useful in the answering of examination questions.

The parts of English education which have been most free during the last twenty years from the pressure, even the distant pressure, of examination are the parts in which there is the greatest zest among teachers and pupils and in which the greatest improvements have taken place, both in teaching and in courses of study. And I am afraid that, with the best intentions, the Universities, old and new, are exerting too strong an influence on what boys and girls at school should be encouraged to learn. The Universities have too large a voice in deciding what the intelligent young should be rewarded for knowing at school. I doubt whether the don realizes how far his influence extends beyond the boundaries of his own province or whether he watches closely enough what he and his colleagues are doing in their own immediate sphere.

There are seven hundred of us resident M.A.s in Oxford. I wish we could be corralled one afternoon, from the Vice-Chancellor downwards, and set down unprepared to a three-hour paper on the administration and present working of education in England. Graham Wallas, Miss Mercier, and Frank Roscoe might be the examiners, with Vaughan of Rugby and Father Martindale if you want guarantees about those sides of English education. Any

M.A. ploughed in the test to be disfranchised from academic voting till he passed. How many of us, I wonder, would get 20 per cent. of full marks?

## MISSIONERS OF EMPIRE

THE fire burnt merrily in the grate, throwing its shadows on the half-dozen regular customers in the bar parlour. There was ex-coastguard Godden in his appointed chair, Mr. Spoffin, the postmaster, Mr. Lilac, licensed to sell tobacco, writing paper, string, bull's-eyes, and the CHRISTIAN HERALD, Mr. Jobson, now honourably retired from the business of waiting upon families daily with the best English and imported joints, Captain Nash, a man of private means, which reach him, as regularly as clockwork, on the first of the month in postal orders, and one old before his time but still known as "young 'Erb."

And over this happy family the fire spread its beneficent rays, and the atmosphere was one of deep and satisfying calm. So at least would it have seemed to an outsider who had forgotten how quickly the best behaved embers may, through some combustible element in them, be sent sparking and spluttering over the fire-irons on to the hearthrug.

"England," said ex-coastguard Godden, with every appearance of speaking his non-provocative thoughts aloud, "England is a accidental glomeration and the English is a glomerated people, being composed of many different constituencies."

"Such as?" prompted Mr. Spoffin.

"Such as Chapman, 'Obbs, Sutcliffe, 'Ammond, Larwood, and 'Endren to name a few," said Bill Godden.

"Who was talking about cricket?" asked the retired butcher, who had been quietly contemplating the brewing industry.

"I was," said old Bill sturdily, "and I tell you cricket does a deal o' good. What's more, it does a bigger amount of good in the winter than it does in the summer when you get too much of it. Why in this cold weather you can't think of cricket, much less talk about it, without getting a bit warmer."

"You're right," said young 'Erb, our Communist member.

"Right about what?" asked Bill, eyeing the young man suspiciously.

"About your not being able to talk about cricket without getting a bit 'eated."

Old Bill, a noted if irascible debater on all subjects, momentarily turned a shade more purple, but he tapped the feeble joke aside with much dignity and his empty pipe bowl. He reserved his counter-attack.

"There is no doubt," said Mr. Lilac, ever anxious to be conciliatory, "that we have every reason to congratulate ourselves. We should all be proud of Chapman and his merry men." He liked that phrase so much that he repeated it—"his merry men."

"And who are they?" asked old Bill, "'cept as I said a glomeration? If I hadn't been interrupted I'd 'ave told you why, even if there are some 'ere so ignorant and so arsenical they don't know the difference between a cricket pitch and a dung 'eap."

Young 'Erb, who thrives on this kind of broad abuse, asked innocently, "What is it, Mr. Godden?"

"Well, if you ain't seen the one you've seen the other a good few times, so you're in a fair way to finding out for yourself."

Young 'Erb, being in the agricultural line, this was considered to be a sufficiently crushing retort, as indeed it

was for the moment, and old Bill proceeded calmly on his way.

"Now, gentlemen," he said, "I think we can all say we know Chapman."

Everyone nodded his head, as if to express the high degree of intimacy which existed between himself and Mr. Chapman.

"And we know 'Obbs"—

"I remember once," started Mr. Lilac fluently, "being a guest at a cricket social at Godalming. My brother-in-law, Frank, was a member of the team—a quite informal affair, just a few drinks and a sing-song, you know. Frank set us all in fits of laughter. He sang a humorous song about boiled beef and carrots."

"What I was about to say is," interrupted old Bill remorselessly, "we know them all, the counties they come from—but do we know what they stand for?"

"And Hobbs turned up to give away the prizes," continued Mr. Lilac valiantly, but his voice fizzled out like the steam kettle they keep in underground railway carriages.

"As Mr. Lilac sensibly remarked," Bill said cuttingly, "we have reason to be proud of them. They've got the Ashes and they deserve 'em—spite what some people said about 'Obbs and Sutcliffe being a bit long in the tooth and past their game."

"Thought you said so yourself," interjected Mr. Jobson.

"So I might 'ave done, so might a great many other people—but what did I say when we 'eard they'd saved the last innings, in this very parlour? I said, 'Boys, trust the old brigade.' Now, didn't I?"

"Yes, but you told us the direk opposite. You was all for young blood and what Fender would have done—when things was looking awkward."

"Are you suggesting, Mr. Jobson, that I'm a turny-coat?"

"I'm not one to suggest anything, Mr. Godden, I'm only telling you what you said."

"As to what I said, that's unmaterial. I'll admit young blood has shown up well. I'm glad to do so, and that brings me to the serious observation which I should have made before had it not been for constant interruption. Cricket, I said, does a deal o' good, and why?"

"'Ealthy exercise," suggested Mr. Spoffin.

"More than that, it's a missionary of Empire—they's the precise words Tich Freeman said to me last time I met him in Ashford Market. 'Mr. Godden,' 'e said, 'we're not only cricketers, we're missionaries of Empire.'"

"D'you know Freeman?" asked Mr. Lilac in an awestruck voice.

"Course I do," said old Bill, "I know 'em all. 'Why, ask your old friend Tyldesley,' Tich says, 'e'll tell you the same thing—it's in the vast arenas, under the southern sun we find a common Imperial understanding. Ask Sutcliffe,' 'e says, 'what you've known since he was a nipper—why I've 'eard 'im say many a time that that sense of sportsmanship common to the British race welds the Empire as no bit of cement could ever do. As for Chapman, well you know 'im too intimate,' Tich says, 'not to know 'is views. Why often when you've been 'aving a pint with 'im you must 'ave 'eard 'im make 'is favourite remark—"A friendly rivalry in the field, an appreciation of the strength and weakness of interdependent famyls, must in the end lead to permutations in the Council chamber." Ain't you 'eard 'im say that?' 'Course I 'ave,' I said, 'I've 'eard 'im say it most emphatic.'"

An almost awed hush followed this familiar bandying of great names, broken first by Captain Nash.

"Did Freeman say all that?"

"Course 'e did—every word."

"What was 'e doing in Ashford market?" asked Mr. Jobson, cautiously.

"If you want to know, he was about to buy a little dawg, and I advised him not to. He'd been talking the matter over with them all."

"What, the dawg?" asked young 'Erb.

"No, the Empire, mutton 'ead—and what's more, 'e said cricket does a lot to keep this glomerated country together. Look what its done for some poor inconspicable counties what you might say wouldn't have been scarcely heard of, if it 'adn't been for cricket. What's Middlesex, 'e says, lost in the lamarint of London, 'cept a name on a water cart or a jury summons? I'll tell you, 'e says, and you'll agree with me—Middlesex is 'Endren."

"And, begging your pardon," I says, "Mr. Freeman, look what you've done for Kent, what's a great county what everyone knows—and," I adds, "we're all main sorry you aven't 'ad a look in yet," I says."

"What, you ain't been on the telephone to 'im?" asked young 'Erb.

Bill wrapped himself in his overcoat, ignoring his own slip with due majesty.

"I think, gentlemen," he said, "you'd do well to think more o' the serious side o' cricket. It's a Empire builder, that's what it is."

As we walked away together I could not help asking him, "Did you really have that conversation, Bill?"

"Lord bless you, no, sir—never met any of 'em in my natural, but when I reads all that in my paper this morning about missionaries of Empire, laid out so beautiful, I says to myself, I'll work that off sometime, and with a ignorant audience like them you as to be 'ighly personal. That's why I brought in the little dawg."

J. B. STERNDALÉ BENNETT.

## PLAYS AND PICTURES

TO what degree should a little elementary intelligence be expected from the harassed heroines of melodrama? Sadie, the European wife of Mr. Sing, the inscrutable Chinese owner of a magnificent bungalow (at the Apollo Theatre), falls in love with an infinitely blond young man fresh from England. This might happen to anybody, and nobody can seriously blame her. But she really should not make love to him just outside the front door, nor bellow out her plans for her husband's undoing in the drawing-room. Then I like a little more nerve in a heroine. Sadie cried too much. My sympathies went out to her lover who, owing to Mrs. Sing's folly, was done to death by the poisoned claws of a Siamese cat. This was a very good idea of Mr. Sing's. Mr. Matheson Lang (Mr. Sing) was extremely inscrutable as a quite ruthless "Chink." So all proceeds according to well-balanced form. But I look forward to the day when a scrutable and childlike Chinese is done in by an infinitely tortuous American. Presumably one would have to go to China to see such a melodrama.

\* \* \*

"Is that a dig at we women?" says somebody in "The Eternal Flame," which is being given for a series of matinées at the Court Theatre. I forget the remark which provoked this impassioned outburst, but the outburst is an effective indication of the play's quality. It is a singularly confused mixture of melodrama and discussion of reincarnation, evolution, science, religion, biology, sunlight, and cat-burglary, conducted with overwhelming haziness and technical incompetence, and amounting in all to



as fine a conglomeration of nonsense as I remember listening to in a London theatre. Seldom before have I been so forcibly made aware of the dramatic convention which necessitates two-and-a-half hours' unceasing talk in circumstances which, given their plausibility, might in life call for a couple of hundred words being spoken. But perhaps I am doing the author (Mr. C. Watson Mill) an injustice. Perhaps the whole thing is just a dig at us critics.

\* \* \*

A new gallery has recently been opened at 73, Grosvenor Street, by the well-known French dealer, M. Paul Guillaume, in conjunction with Mr. Brandon Davis, for the exhibition and sale of modern French and English pictures. Its first exhibition, of "paintings by Renoir and other Modern Artists," sets a very high standard of quality. There are some twenty paintings by Renoir here—the whole of the first gallery and a few in the second and larger gallery mixed with paintings by other artists. These include some extremely fine examples of his work, such as, for instance, the two large female nudes in the first gallery, both of which are superbly painted, and the very lovely landscape, "The Bridge" (No. 28). There are also some interesting early works. Other pictures in the exhibition are the large, not altogether successful, "The Old Musician," by Manet; an exquisite Sisley, "Snow Scene"; a landscape by Cézanne, "Le Tholomet," a fine work, but not among his very best; a beautiful Picasso, "The Two Harlequins"; flower-pieces, portraits and landscapes by Matisse; a Corot landscape; several pictures by Derain; a charming wedding group by the Douanier Rousseau. The next exhibition, opening in February, will be devoted to the work of Mr. Duncan Grant.

\* \* \*

"Thou Shalt Not," which is at present showing at the Shaftesbury Avenue Pavilion, is undoubtedly one of the best films in the history of the cinema. It is an adaptation, produced by M. Jacques Feyder, of Zola's "Thérèse Raquin," which provides a story of power and simplicity and dramatic intensity admirably suited to the screen. M. Feyder's method of production is straightforward, unpretentious, and very restrained in emotion; he makes important use of inanimate objects or still life groups—such as the cheap wares in the little haberdashery shop, a table laid for a meal, a portrait hung on the wall—to emphasize or contrast with the emotions of horror, hate, or disgust in the minds of the actors. Towards the end of the film the figure of the murdered man's mother is used in this way with extraordinary effect; dumb and paralyzed, she sits always in her chair in the little back room, a perpetual brooding figure, unable to speak of the murder of which she alone has the knowledge. The acting and photography are throughout excellent. The principal item in the Film Society's programme last Sunday was also a French film, "Rien que les Heures," made by M. Albert Cavalcanti. Its theme is similar to that of the German film "Berlin"—the passage of a day in a great city—but M. Cavalcanti's method concerns itself with human rather than with purely impersonal aspects. The pictures are very interestingly composed, and the photography excellent. Another film shown was the German "Ways to Health and Beauty," which deals with the advantages of physical culture and games. It has been shown with success all over the Continent, and has aroused much interest, but its public exhibition has been prohibited in this country.

\* \* \*

Things to see and hear in the coming week:—

Sunday, January 20th.—

Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, on "Morals in the Current Novel," South Place, 11.

Dr. Walter Walsh, on "Robert Burns," Lindsey Hall, 11.

Repertory Players, in "Give a Dog —," at the Strand.

Monday, January 21st.—

Sir Francis Acland, on "Problems of the Land," National Liberal Club, 8.15.

Royal Geographical Society Lantern Lecture, Æolian Hall, 8.30.

Enid Bailey, Violin Recital, Wigmore Hall, 8.15.

Tuesday, January 22nd.—

"Byron," by Alicia Ramsey, at the Lyric Theatre.

Dr. Bernard Hollander, on "Sound and Unsound Mind," Small Essex Hall, 7.30.

Spencer Dyke String Quartet, Chamber Concert, Wigmore Hall, 8.15.

Dame Edith Lyttelton, on "Foreign Affairs and How They Affect Us," the Wireless, 7.

Wednesday, January 23rd.—

Comedy, "Her Past," at the Shaftesbury.

Angus Morrison, Pianoforte Recital, Wigmore Hall, 8.30.

Hewitt String Quartet, Æolian Hall, 8.15.

Thursday, January 24th.—

Mr. J. C. Squire, on "Architecture," Morley College, 61, Westminster Bridge Road, 8.

"Faust" (Gounod), at the Old Vic, 7.45.

Mr. Colin Keith-Johnston reading Swinburne's Poems and Ballads, Poetry Bookshop, 6.

Friday, January 25th.—

A discussion between Captain Harry Graham and Mr. Bernard Darwin, on "The Limitation of the Golf Ball," the Wireless, 9.20.

OMICRON.

## DYNAMITE AND LAVENDER

HE who reads these words and finds in them no blossom of beauty

Will get a pain in his eyes and be punished for missing his duty;

He who reads these words and judges them weak and delirious

Shall be bruised in the elbow by Mars and bit in the knee-cap by Sirius;

He who reads these words and despises their needy creator  
Will lose half a crown the same day and five hundred a week or two later.

But he who reads and admires and puts forth his heart to the singer

Shall receive a surprise with his tea worth more than the ring on his finger,

And the letters the morrow will bring, and the parcels a day or two after

Shall bulge with the largesse of Spring and pile him up joy to the rafter;

He shall walk like a lord all the day, he shall drink the best claret and sherry,

He shall shine like a hillside in May, and his heart be both sober and merry.

I may not have power to bestow, but with all of my sinews I will it,

By Eternity's wide overflow and the eyes of the angels that fill it,

By the sun and the moon and the stars and the silver-hued spaces that bind them,

By Jupiter, Neptune, and Mars and the might of all brains that defined them,

By the strings of the zither I stole when I played with the angels in Zion,

By the undulate waves of my soul when I rode on the neck of Orion.

Amen, Amen.

HERBERT E. PALMER.

# London Amusements.

**SCALA THEATRE**  
(1 min. Goodge St. Stn.)  
**DON'T MISS THE BEST PANTO IN LONDON.**  
**CINDERELLA**  
LAST WEEK. FINISHING SATURDAY, JAN. 26.  
Cast Includes: WILL EVANS, CHESTER FIELDS,  
THE BROTHERS EGBERT,  
OUIDA MACDERMOT, NORA EMERALD,  
EDWIN DODDS, MAUDIE OLMAR, etc.  
TWICE DAILY. 2.15 & 7.45. TWICE DAILY.  
All Seats bookable. Popular Prices. Museum 6010.

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Gerrard 2690.  
Every Evening at 8.30  
Matinees Thurs. and Sats. at 2.30.  
**BIRD IN HAND**  
A Comedy by John Drinkwater.  
316th PERFORMANCE TO-NIGHT JANUARY 19.  
HERBERT LOMAS. IVOR BARNARD.  
JILL ESMOND MOORE. FELIX AYLMER.

## MATINEES FOR THE WEEK.

**APOLLO.** Thurs. & Sat., at 2.30.  
**CARLTON.** Weds. & Sats., at 2.30.  
**DUKE OF YORK'S.** Wed., Sat., 2.30.  
**DRURY LANE.** Wed. & Sat., 2.30.  
**FORTUNE.** Thurs., Sat., at 2.30.  
**GARRICK.** Daily, at 2 o'clock.  
**HIPPODROME.** Wed., Thurs. & Sat., 2.30.

**"THE PATSY."**  
**IN OTHER WORDS.**  
**THE CHINESE BUNGALOW.**  
**SHOW BOAT.**  
**JEALOUSY.**  
**PETER PAN.**  
**"THAT'S A GOOD GIRL."**

**KINGSWAY.** Wed. & Sat., 2.30.  
**LONDON PAVILION.** Tues., Thur., 2.30.  
**LYRIC, Hammersmith.** Wed., Sat., 2.30.  
**PRINCES.** Wed., Sat., 2.30.  
**ROYALTY.** Thurs., Sat., 2.30.  
**SCALA.** Daily, at 2.15.  
**WYNDHAM'S.** Wed. & Sat., 2.30.

**"MRS. MOONLIGHT."**  
**"LUCKY GIRL."**  
**A HUNDRED YEARS OLD.**  
**FUNNY FACE.**  
**BIRD IN HAND.**  
**CINDERELLA.**  
**"THE LOVE-LORN LADY."**

## THEATRES.

**ALDWYCH.** (Gerrard 2504.) EVENINGS, 8.15.  
MATINEES, WED. & FRI., 2.30.  
"PLUNDER." A New Farce by Ben Travers.  
TOM WALLS, Mary Brough, and RALPH LYNN.  
**APOLLO.** (Gerr. 6970.) EVENINGS, 8.30. MATS., THURS. & SAT., 2.30.  
HELEN FORD in "THE PATSY."  
A Comedy in 3 Acts, by Barry Connors.  
**CARLTON,** Haymarket. (Reg. 2211.) "IN OTHER WORDS."  
EVENINGS, at 8.30. MATS., WEDS. & SATS., at 2.30.  
GEORGE ROBEY and MARIE BLANCHE.

**COURT.** Evgs., 8.40. Wednesday, Thursday, Saturday, 2.30. LAST WEEKS.  
"YOUNG WOODLEY."

FRANK LAWTON. KATHLEEN O'REGAN.

**DRURY LANE.** (Temple Bar 7171.) 8.15 precisely. Wed., Sat., 2.30.

**"SHOW BOAT" A New Musical Play.**

**DUKE OF YORK'S.** (Ger. 0313.) MATHESON LANG in  
"THE CHINESE BUNGALOW."  
EVENINGS, at 8.30. MATINEES, WED. & SAT., at 2.30.

**FORTUNE** (Temple Bar 7373.) MARY NEWCOMB in  
"JEALOUSY." By Eugene Walters  
With Crane Wilbur.

EVENINGS, at 8.40. Matinees, Thurs. & Sat., at 2.30.

**GARRICK.** (Gerr. 9513.) DAILY, at 2. WED., THURS., SAT. EVGS., at 8.

"PETER PAN." By J. M. Barrie.  
MARIE LOHR, JEAN FORBES-ROBERTSON, MALCOLM KEEN.

**HIPPODROME, London.** Evenings, at 8.15. Gerrard 0650.  
MATS., WEDS., THURS. & SATS., at 2.30.

"THAT'S A GOOD GIRL."  
JACK BUCHANAN. ELSIE RANDOLPH.

**HOLBORN EMPIRE.** "WHERE THE RAINBOW ENDS."  
MATINEES ONLY. DAILY, 2.15. ITALIA CONTI Prod. LAST WEEK.  
Box Office and Libraries open. Popular Prices, 7/6, 5/-, etc. (Holb. 5367.)

**KINGSWAY.** (Holborn 4032.) EVENINGS, 8.40. WED. & SAT., 2.30.  
"MRS. MOONLIGHT."  
A New Play by Benn. W. Levy.

**LONDON PAVILION.** (Gerr. 0704.) EVGS., 8.30. Tues., Thurs., 2.30.  
"LUCKY GIRL." A New Musical Farce.  
Anita Elson, Clifford Mollison, Greta Fayne, Spencer Trevor,  
and GENE GERRARD.

## THEATRES.

**LYRIC** Hammersmith. "A HUNDRED YEARS OLD."  
EVENINGS, at 8.30. Mats., Wed. & Sat., at 2.30.  
Horace Hodges, Angela Baddeley, Nigel Playfair, Mabel Terry Lewis.

**PRINCES.** (Ger. 3400.) FUNNY FACE  
FRED ASTAIRE, ADELE ASTAIRE, and LESLIE HENSON.  
Evenings, at 8.15. Matinees, Wed. & Sat., at 2.30.

**ROYALTY.** (Ger. 2690.) Dean Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, W.1.  
For full particulars see Special Advertisement above.

**ST. MARTIN'S.** (Gerr. 1243.) At 8.15. MATS., MON., TUES., FRI., 2.30.  
"77 PARK LANE." By Walter Hackett  
HUGH WAKEFIELD and MARION LORNE.

**SCALA.** (1 min. Goodge St. Stn.) Twice Daily, 2.15 & 7.45.  
For full particulars see Special Advertisement above.

**WYNDHAM'S.** NIGHTLY, at 8.30. MATS., WED. & SAT., at 2.30.  
"THE LOVE-LORN LADY."  
RENEE KELLY, OLIVE SLOANE, FRANCIS LISTER.

## VARIETIES.

**COLISEUM.** (Ger. 7540.) At 2 and 7.45. Week of January 21st.  
A Realistic Representation of a Typical HIGHLAND GATHERING of  
Braemar, Aboyne, and other Champions; Fowler & Tamara; G. H. Elliott,  
Willy Pantzer & Co.; Terrier Racing; Geenlee & Drayton, etc.

## CINEMAS.

**EMPIRE,** Leicester Square. Continuous, Noon-11 p.m. Evgs., 8.0-11 p.m.  
"THE COSSACKS."  
Featuring JOHN GILBERT  
and RENEE ADOREE

**REGAL.** Marble Arch. Paddington 5911.  
Continuous, 2-11 p.m. Doors open 1.30.  
Sundays, 6-11 p.m. Doors open 5.30. See and hear  
AL JOLSON in "THE SINGING FOOL." LAST WEEK.

**STOLL PICTURE THEATRE.** Kingsway. (Holborn 3703.)  
DAILY, 2 to 10.45. (SUNDAYS, New Programme, 6 to 10.30.)  
January 21st, 22nd & 23rd. EMIL JANNINGS in "THE LAST COMMAND";  
ANNETTE BENSON in Anthony Asquith's "SHOOTING STARS";  
THREE EDDIES; PAULINE & DIANA in Harmony,  
January 24th, 25th & 26th. FRANCESCA BERTINI in "ODETTE"; FRED  
THOMSON in "THE SUNSET LEGION"; THREE EDDIES; GERTRUDE  
CONCANNON, Australian Soprano.

## ART EXHIBITIONS.

**THE LONDON GROUP.** 26th EXHIBITION.  
"The Undisputed Centre of Advanced British Art." P. G. Konody.  
NEW BURLINGTON GALLERIES, Burlington Gardens, W.1.  
January 5th to the 26th. 10-5, including Saturdays.



## THE WORLD OF BOOKS

## "WHIGS" AND "TORIES"

**T**HE Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III., by L. B. Namier (Macmillan, 2 vols., 30s.), is, as I ventured to prophesy in these columns, an important book. Mr. Namier has undertaken a mighty work to which, in fact, these two volumes are little more than an introduction. He is making "a study of the British 'political nation' during the American Revolution," and his method is to concentrate "on that marvellous microcosmos, the British House of Commons." He apparently proposes in future volumes to deal in detail with the history of politics in Great Britain between the accession of George III. and the Treaty of Peace signed by Britain and the United States at Paris on September 3rd, 1783, e.g., the history of the four Parliaments of 1761 to 1784. But as a preliminary to this detailed history, he gives us here a study of the general structure of the political system. His two volumes deal roughly with four main subjects. His first chapter examines the classes of men who entered Parliament and the motives which led them to do so, his second analyzes the electoral structure of England. Then there are two essays dealing with political corruption at the time of George III.'s accession, one specifically with the Election of 1761, and the other with the use of Secret Service money for political purposes by the Duke of Newcastle. Finally, in his second volume, he examines in great detail the local history of some typical and peculiar constituencies and the careers of certain well-connected gentlemen, highly characteristic of the eighteenth century, whom he calls "Parliamentary beggars."

Mr. Namier's work is not of the kind which will suit the voracious appetite and weak digestion of so many readers, but the historically and politically minded, who are not frightened by facts and footnotes indicating that these facts are derived from unpublished MSS., will find it fascinating. Mr. Namier has a rare merit among historians. His learning is immense, and he has highly developed that strange respect for a fact, merely because it is undoubtedly a fact, which will send the historian tunnelling and burrowing like some sublimely inspired mole or marmot down, down through the dusty MSS. in Museums and Record Offices merely to satisfy himself that, perhaps, the lady who received a pension of £100 from Secret Service funds was nobody more exciting than the "midwife to the Royal Family." These two volumes are "based on original research"—that much-abused phrase which is an excuse for many ill-written and unnecessary volumes, the rag-bags of useless facts. Mr. Namier can beat the postage-stamp collecting type of historian at his own game, and he will pile minute fact on minute fact, most of them probably derived from unpublished sources, about the local politics of Grampound or Harwich when it serves his purpose. But the point is that he has a purpose other than the mere resurrection of dead facts about dead men. His interest in history is that of the philosopher or speculator rather than of the chronicler; he wants to know not only what happened, but how and why it happened. And the present, I think or hope, is always in some sense for him a background to the past. Thus behind the infinite accumulation of little facts, and shaped by it, lies the

generalized and dramatic movement of man's history in which his beliefs and desires and his attitude towards his own political creations direct his course.

\* \* \*

It would be foolish to try to guess from these preliminary volumes the larger and more general outlines which Mr. Namier's work will eventually take. But already he indicates certain conclusions which are of real importance, and some of which do not square with the authorized version of the historians. The chief moral of the two volumes, if they have a moral, is that in 1861 there were no Whigs and Tories, but only "Whigs" and "Tories." No book that I know gives one so deep an insight into the politics of England in the eighteenth century as this. You breathe the very atmosphere of the politics of Shropshire and the Cornish Boroughs and the Treasury Boroughs of Harwich and Orford, and Mr. Namier enables you both to see and feel the attitude of the candidates, the electors, the agents, and the great political managers. And it is clear that, as Mr. Namier insists, there was no party system in existence in any sense in which we understand a party system. The question of a political principle is never under any circumstances mentioned. Political issues at elections simply do not exist. A candidate is a "Whig" or a "Tory," but whether he is one or the other depends on personal reasons. The "Shropshire Gang," under Lord Powis, are the staunchest "Whigs" in the country because they are personally attached to Lord Newcastle, the great "Whig" leader. But the attachment depends almost entirely on what they can get out of him. When they could get more out of Bute and the Court, most of them deserted Newcastle, and by 1768, as Mr. Namier points out, they are classified as "Tories."

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Mr. Namier seems to think that this system of politics, based entirely upon personal interests and personal attachments, may be said in some way or other to have been natural and suited to the country at the time. This raises a difficult and complicated question. It is by no means certain that the system itself did not, to some extent, create the political apathy. There could be no principles and no political issues under a system in which representation was a species of personal property, which was either inheritable or could be won or lost according to the well-established rules of an infinitely involved game. The system was not natural or indigenous in Britain before the eighteenth century; it grew out of the social and economic ideals of the aristocracy and country gentlemen. But the rules of the game precluded the vast majority of the population from any participation in politics, and there is therefore naturally no sign of any political issue in the General Elections of 1754 or 1761. But I doubt whether it is safe to conclude offhand that there was no political interest in the masses. The only way in which those masses could show their interest was by riot. It is a curious fact, which historians have overlooked, that, during Mr. Namier's period, there were three great outbreaks of rioting, in 1768, 1771, and 1780, and all three were concerned with political questions. How can there be an outbreak unless something has been suppressed?

LEONARD WOOLF.

## REVIEWS

### NEW NOVELS

**The Sword Falls.** By ANTHONY BERTRAM. (Allen & Unwin. 7s. 6d.)

**Accident.** By ARNOLD BENNETT. (Cassell. 7s. 6d.)

**Ultima Thule.** By HENRY HANDEL RICHARDSON. (Heinemann. 7s. 6d.)

**The Rebel Generation.** By JO VAN AMMERS-KÜLLER. (Dent. 7s. 6d.)

**Like a Rose.** By MARGARET PETERSON. (Benn. 7s. 6d.)

**The Prisoner in the Opal.** By A. E. W. MASON. (Hodder & Stoughton. 7s. 6d.)

**Glimpses.** By CORRIE DENISON. (The Scholartis Press. 7s. 6d.)

THIS is the heyday of the man in the street, the underdog and the obscure person; it grows rarer and rarer for the novelist to choose his hero from outside their ranks. Mr. Bertram, for instance, takes harmless and retiring Albert Robinson, managing clerk in a firm of solicitors, and with a wink (for the reader) and a deft boot (for Albert) lands him in the middle of the stage. There he must stay heroing till the play is out; there he must be sick after drinking too well the health of his firstborn, and there he must be sick twenty years later when he finds rotting in No-man's Land the body of Alf the milkboy, who used to flirt with the maid away back in Streatham before the war. After the war Albert goes back to his job in the City, but homeless (owing to a bomb), wifeless, sonless, and daughterless, and with his confidence in "the British Empire, founded by God," and the stability of "its greatest glory, Home," not what it had been in 1894. The reader, who by this time may have developed a feeling of affection for this decent, absurd little man, must be consoled with the reflection that Albert will have no more new-born sons to upset him, and meet with no more dead milkboys. Mr. Bertram resorts to various tricks of simplification to achieve his pathological-comical effect, but "The Sword Falls," while it is less than a great war novel, is considerably more than a clever puppet show in the Dickens manner. The tragedy of Albert Robinson is that there is no tragedy. He loses everything, and yet the war-devils leave him in peace. His mind, never very spacious, and furnished permanently in the generous fashion of the 'nineties, has no room for such guests.

Mr. Alan Frith-Walter in "Accident" gives the impression throughout of being gratified, though not at all surprised, to find himself the chief character in Mr. Arnold Bennett's latest novel. The post, on this occasion, is a comparative sinecure, involving merely a journey from London to Genoa, and that in the greatest possible comfort. An accident happens to the train and he is required to be a casualty, but to a man who finds so much pleasure even in the most stereotyped revolutions of his mind, fresh sensations are worth a little discomfort. A short journey after the accident in a third-class carriage intensifies his homage of wealth. To an engineer who is also a student of Wordsworth, such an experience as a railway journey naturally bristles with romance. "His fancy flew forward to the engine and saw the driver and stoker in the glow of the fiery furnace peering forth into the blast from the flanks of the terrific monster they tended. The whole organism of the flying procession had an aura of touching, intolerable pathos. Yet, despite his own woe, he could clearly divine and appreciate its mysterious, ridiculous beauty." So his imagination fumbles: so the guiding imagination of Mr. Bennett fumbles. The syrup tin and the little flask of Pierian water have been confused. But the shell of the novel is cleverly fashioned. The conjuror rubs his hands together—"Just a little railway journey, just a day and a night in the train!"—draws his hands apart, and out flutter individuals, families, quarrels, nerves and superstitions, passions and reconciliations.

Richard Mahony, the hero of a trilogy, makes his third and last appearance in "Ultima Thule." He has lost all his money, he must open a new practice in Melbourne, starting from the bottom of the ladder, with three children to bring up and his best years behind him. Richard dislikes Australia—for good enough reasons—and Australia has no particular opinion of Richard. After a series of increasingly unsuccessful experiments as a general practitioner he

goes out of his mind. The varying stages of his madness are very convincingly described. His wife, Mary, becomes a postmistress with £80 a year. Richard goes into the State asylum, but is rescued from it by Mary. The rough handling in the asylum has altered him tragically, and he dies shortly afterwards. Richard, of course, brought the greater part of his misfortune on himself, and the story is morbid, but it compels us, as long as we are reading, to consider the morbidity excusable. For artistic success the book lacks elasticity, and the running comments and queries supplied by the thoughts of small Cuffy, Richard's son, belong to a different type of novel. The final impression is relief that it is over—a compliment and yet no compliment to Mr. Richardson as a novelist. The real tragic hero (and the main figure in a trilogy should be something of that sort), even at his most vexed and most pitiable, is a person we envy. The comforting knowledge that we are not in his shoes blends with a secret craving that we were. Dr. Mahony is never enviable and often irritating.

Nothing in any one of these novels, able as they all are, can match for artistry the first part of Mrs. van Ammers-Küller's "Rebel Generation." In plot it resembles the Sunday story-book of our parents and grandparents, but with the moral reversed. It begins in the 'forties. Marie Elizabeth, the orphan of a Dutchwoman who had made a runaway match with a French music master, comes to Leyden to live with her uncle. At the very outset she offends the dignity of her cousin Henry, the divinity student, by giving him to carry a birdcage wrapped in green flannel. Then she shocks and delights her cousins Katie, Sally, and Susie by the frivolity of her crinoline, her tartan silk frock, her pelisse, her muff, by the audacity of her tongue, and, above all, by her scandalous ability to read Latin. But the hypocritical Henry and the predestinarian Susie and the domineering patriarch, Uncle Cornvelt, are the wicked characters, and no guilt rests on Marie Elizabeth and Sally for stealing candles to read such intoxicating literature as "Notre Dame de Paris" in bed. In Part II., which describes the Cornvelts of 1872, the thesis of the book begins to cloud the rare lucidity and delicacy of description. The young women of this generation rebel, the ambitious carve their own careers, the lovers are bold and disobedient, and marry. Great as were the enormities of male and parental domination in the nineteenth century, it must grieve everyone that Mrs. van Ammers-Küller allows the call to expose those enormities to turn her aside from her story. Part III. gives us the Cornvelts of 1923; emancipated children bored and burdened with their freedom and indignant to find their parents no more moral than they are themselves. This is even more beclouded, in tone not unlike a novel by Sir Philip Gibbs.

In "Like a Rose," Miss Margaret Peterson's twenty-fifth novel, she tells us her heroine's face "had that arresting, waiting beauty of pure youth, and yet it was old, and behind it lay all the festering knowledge of vice." This was because Jennifer, early crossed in love, has been the "protégée" (according to the delicate-minded blurb) of a theatre manager and then of a Russian prince, with a short spell of matrimony and a longer one of prostitution in between. She makes an unsuccessful attempt to drown herself in the middle, and a successful attempt to poison herself at the end. But even in suicide Jennifer never feels really uncomfortable, nor does she ever look foolish or plain. The reader is spared all vicarious suffering except of the most romantic and exquisite sort, while words like "festering" and half-expressed moral judgments occur just often enough to keep up the anxiety, the anticipation of an ultimate necessity to condemn. "The Prisoner in the Opal," also a lighter novel, lacks the spirited touch of some of Mr. Mason's earlier works, but makes quite good reading. Love, murder, and occultism are intertwined in a complicated pattern and then skilfully untwined. "Glimpses," by Mr. Corrie Denison, is not worth describing. That Messrs. Benn or Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton should allow tares to appear among their wheat is understandable, but it is rather surprising to find the Scholartis Press permitting such a dull, vulgar, and sententious growth as "Glimpses" in its trim garden.

LYN LL. IRVINE.



## BEDDOES

**The Complete Works of Thomas Lovell Beddoes.** Edited with Preface and Introduction by SIR EDMUND GOSSE. Two vols. (Fanfrolico Press. 42s.)

It will be a matter of some interest to find out whether this beautiful edition of one of the most unique of English Poets will concentrate upon him more attention than he has hitherto received. One sometimes wonders whether Beddoes ought also to be called one of the unluckiest or one of the luckiest. To put the thing with the strictest correctness, nothing but wonderful good luck could have enabled him to survive the ill luck which no doubt was in a manner his own fault. The time at which he came was unlucky; too early or too late by almost a generation. The subjects which most attracted him were unlucky; for whatever people may say about the folly of happy endings and the disgustingness of rose-pink, there is not one in ten thousand who really finds places of cheerful resort in mortuaries and madhouses. Above all, if he did not exactly practise infanticide on his literary work he devolved the prolongation of its life upon other people, or rather one other person, with almost complete carelessness—except that he was rather lavish of that most dangerous sort of care—rewriting. By the admirable altruism of that pearl of Southampton solicitors, Kelsall; by the lucky fact (though it cannot be said that Browning took much trouble about the matter) of the enlistment of the second greatest poet of the time in the service of the defunct Beddoes; and by the perhaps still luckier and further enlistment of a younger bard, competent, enthusiastic, and able to spare time for the service—at least a large part (for there is still some lost or mislaid) of the work came to be known. Now this work, with a very little more, the earlier books which were never issued in great numbers having long been out of print, is again put forward with Sir Edmund Gosse's last words of biography and bibliography, but with nothing to supplement or repeat his own or others' criticism.

It may seem slightly absurd for a reviewer to say that this deficiency is perhaps just as well. But some argument may be made for the proposition that in standard "library" editions of "works" the matter is best presented with no accompaniments, except biographical and bibliographical and possibly some "notes." At any rate it is hardly extravagant to say that Beddoes is an extremely difficult person upon whom to pronounce any judgment that can pretend to be anything like catholic or monumental. People who really like him will like him, or rather his work (for there would not seem to have been much in him personally to like, though Kelsall and his cousin Zœe King thought differently) in a fashion which seems to others excessive. People who do not like him will, in different moods and degrees, express their dislike or qualify the admiration which they cannot help feeling, with various admixtures of a sort of discomfort. A really æsthetic but not dogmatic analysis of Beddoes would be a most complicated business.

The blood of the Edgeworths must have been itself a very complicated mixture to produce as it did the decidedly tiresome Richard and the very agreeable Maria; the companion and chaplain of the last real King of France on the scaffold (the Dauphin and Monsieur and Artois were only ghosts, but did anybody ever "know a braver man" as the German ballad has it, than the Abbé Edgeworth?), and the suicide who so neatly left fifty bottles of champagne to a relation "to drink his death in." But it certainly never produced anything odder than Thomas Lovell Beddoes—Edgeworth by the mother's side. It is sometimes thought a rather cheap way of getting out of difficulties to call a man mad (mental-institution-fit is correcter) while from another point of view it may seem brutal. To strict criticism it may legitimately seem doubtful whether at any time of his life Beddoes was quite sane, while for the last not too few years of it he was pretty certainly insane, though probably in a condition which might have made it difficult to certify him so. But these things are, if anything, better known than the "Works," when it should be the other way round. To these works Sir Edmund added, rather tantalizingly, a scrap of the Terror-novel "Scaroni," which, from its name and the sample given, one cannot help thinking might have been named "Skitoni." It is of the "Zastrozzi" and

"St. Irvyne" type, and from the serious point of view, of course, utter rubbish. But if we untie the not very hard knot of Scare-oni; if we remember that Beddoes' Letters are full of jesting not of the diabolical kind; and if we read the delicious sentence, "However preposterous and impossible to readers who imagine that I am not telling the truth"; if we perpend the other proper name "Gobbletti"—we shall perhaps imagine that the writer was not quite as serious as he should be. However this matters little. The bulk of the book—admirably printed, bound and papered, and illustrated throughout with small reproductions of the "Dance of Death" in corners and as headings—consists of the old material. That is to say, it gives the singularly readable Letters; "Death's Jest Book," which ought probably to be read as many times as it was written to extract from their matrix its entangled jewels; the summits of performance in those lyrics from "Dream-Pedlary" downwards, the best of which neither Shakespeare nor Shelley need have disdained to sign; and the curious "rest" which ranges upwards from the rather L. E. L.-ish "Improvisatore" to those puzzles in a certain way odder than the "Jestbook" itself, "The Bride's Tragedy," "The Second Brother," as to which one has a fancy of much better potency than it has actuality, and the other fragments. Perhaps, after all, the wisest and safest thing to say about Beddoes (it is not put forward as original) is, "If you like Romance, read at frequent intervals; if you do not, throw away at once." For the second proceeding this edition is far too handsome; for the first it is admirably adapted.

GEORGE SAINTSBURY.

## LECTURES ON POETRY

**Form and Style in Poetry.** By W. P. KER. Edited by R. W. CHAMBERS. (Macmillan. 10s. 6d.)

**Hogarth Lectures. Phases of English Poetry.** By HERBERT READ. **Lyrical Poetry from Blake to Hardy.** By H. J. C. GRIERSON. (Hogarth Press. 3s. 6d. each.)

ONE man will attend lectures on the humanities in search of tabloids of safe, dead knowledge; a second, with the chill of books on his spirit, will go to warm himself at another man's spoken mind. The first will come away with his notebook full and his head as empty as before (except for examination purposes). The second will have nothing in his notebook and in his mind only the memory of a few scattered phrases, or the echo of a profound tone of voice; but he has what he wants, he can go back happily to his books. It is the fate of most lecturers to face perhaps ten unenthusiastic examinees to every one real student, and the great lecturers somehow contrive to send everyone away happy. Published lectures are something of a literary hybrid, but at least they are first-class evidence against the lecturer. Good coaching lectures are quite unreadable; it is only when a lecturer can be listened to as a man who delights in his learning that what he says can be made into a good book. Judged in this way, the late Professor Ker's form as a lecturer emerges very clearly from Professor Chambers's collection. This is a fragmentary book, crammed with a profound erudition lightly displayed. Students who earnestly desired to work to a syllabus must have had a rather bewildering time in Ker's lecture-room, for, as this book shows, his aim was to teach people to read literature with something of his own critical understanding rather than to make a tidy world of man's outpoured imaginations. The most complete thing in the book is a verbatim record of Ker's "daily jaw" to the English class of University College, London. He never wrote these lectures; this is Ker in rich undress; and to read them is a delight precisely because they were spoken before they were written down. It is easy to mark the vigorous opportunism of phrase, the slight angularity of rhythm, the pause for the right word, which distinguishes scholarly speech from the more polished product of the study. These really are lectures—the voice, the personality, the discursive range of an exceptionally wide knowledge of European literature are all here. It is difficult to decide whether, sitting under Ker, it would have been more profitable to scribble or to sit back

and listen. The listener, if he learnt nothing else, would have received the salutary impression of an English literature not confined to England but nourished and enriched from Alexandria to Iceland and from Scandinavia to Spain. The scribbler, on the other hand, would have his fill of facts and wide-drawn instances, but might complain of a confusion of plenty, a lack of plan, of categories and definitions. Ker had read and thought too much to be bothered with the scaffoldings of literature. He lectures on poetic form, and begins by showing that it is impossible to define such a thing. His method is to explain a commonplace of literary criticism—such as the classification of poems into epic, dramatic, and lyric—in such a way that it only becomes interesting when (as is usually the case) it ceases to be valid. It is better to know an individual poem so well that it becomes (in Ker's magnificent phrase) a unique signal flashed out of the darkness, to which one must make a unique answer, than to know that the man who wrote it got his idea from this, his stanza from that, and his diction from the other. That is powerful doctrine from one who combined both powers.

Few critics can go into such hard training for their writing as Mr. Read does. His artistic responses strike one as having been first hotly felt, then subjected to a rigorous intellectual analysis, and finally written down with an icy precision, which disdains the aid of metaphor or other useful vehicles in the transport of difficult ideas. His "Phases of English Poetry" has this characteristic cold intensity and intellectual tautness. It exhibits a critical temper which is curiously opposite to Professor Ker's. Order and definition are native to Mr. Read's mind; he believes that the apparatus of logical analysis can be adapted to literary criticism. There is, for instance, a quality of English poetry which we all feel, but are content to label "magical," or explain muzzily in romantic terms. Mr. Read will have none of this. He hunts magic with his intellectual weapons until he has clapped a definition on it. It is possible to quarrel here and there with Mr. Read in his progress from the ballad to the Georgians. His omission of Shakespeare (although for a good personal reason) is surprising, his estimate of Milton seems too low, his view of contemporary poetry too gloomy. Yet no one who has been braced by the clean power, the economy, and the hard thought compacted in this little book will deny that it is a first-rate essay in criticism:—

"The phases through which we have traced the development of English poetry might be illustrated by a series of diagrams: in the first the poet coincides with his circle; in the second he is a point within the circle; in the third, he is a point on the circumference; and finally, he is a point outside the circle. These are respectively the positions of the anonymous creator of ballad poetry, the humanist poet, the religious poet, and the romantic poet. The ballad poet is identical with the world he lives in. The humanist poet is the nucleus of his world, the focus of intelligence and intellectual progress. The religious poet lives at the periphery of his world—at the point where his world is in contact with the infinite universe. The romantic poet is his own universe; the world for him is either rejected as unreal in favour of some phantom world, or is identified with the poet's own feelings. The four phases complete a cycle, beginning with the world as poet and ending with the poet as world."

With Professor Grierson we return to the warm bustle of the "daily jaw." He has a crowded period to get through, and has written an uncommonly good guide to it. His book contains no nonsense, a good deal of delicate appreciation, and an unflagging gusto. With its straightforward attack, its wealth of quotations, and its vigorous good sense, it is extremely useful both for students and for those on whose shelf of Victorian poets too much dust has settled. Professor Grierson's quality is well seen in his treatment of Dr. Bridges, whom he describes as gliding almost unnoticed upon a stage lately vacated by Tennyson and Browning, "a poet not with a message but with a manner, a manner that, just felt at first, gradually penetrated the consciousness, as might some delicate odour, with an effect at once purifying and stimulating." It happens that Sir William Watson is the next on Professor Grierson's list. And this is how he bows Bridges out and welcomes Watson:—

"It was a strange fate that made a Poet Laureate of Mr. Bridges, for no poet more obviously sings only for those

who have ears to hear, while a Poet Laureate as we understand the office must attune his song also to those whose ears are more long than sensitive. It was an equally hard fate that prevented Sir William Watson from occupying some such post, for no poet of his day could have filled it more worthily."

We may perhaps doubt it; but it is at least refreshing to find someone who would not fly into a passion when it is suggested that Dr. Bridges is a better poet than a Poet Laureate.

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## LETTERS TO A NIECE

Letters to a Niece. By FRIEDRICH VON HÜGEL. (Dent. 7s. 6d.)

ROMAN CATHOLICISM is the most religious of the religions. This is why for some, as for the writer of these letters, the Church of Rome is the only possible Church. He was a virtuoso in religion. This is the key to his somewhat enigmatic personality. The Editor of this revealing book tells us that those who think of him as "hardly a true member of this Church" misunderstand him. It is true. His sympathies were wide:—

"The Synagogue here in Bayswater is a fragmentary, but very real, revelation of God; and, however unconsciously, a very real pedagogue to Christ. The little Mosque at Woking is still, for some souls, a yet more fragmentary, but still real, revelation of God and teacher of truths more completely taught by Christianity."

Again:—

"I love many Anglicans, High Church, Broad; Unitarians, Presbyterians,—yes; all,—many. But it is not the same thing. I am a child of the Confessional, a son of the great Roman Church."

He was, however, a psychological enigma. His Catholicism, ardent as it was, was, it seemed, religious rather than ethical or intellectual; strive as he would after the *mortificazione dell' intelletto*, he attained it imperfectly. But the glamour of what Macaulay calls "that august and fascinating superstition," the Catholic and Roman Church, held him in thrall.

He went so far in the direction of Modernism that it was, and is, difficult to see why he did not go further; those who did complained that he had led them on, and then left them in the lurch. His reasons for doing so were temperamental, not logical; if there was at any time a weakening, it was the surface waters that were agitated; the depths remained unmoved. For him the Church was not a matter of proof, but of intuition. It is impossible to conceive him either detached from the Roman Communion, or attached to any other. How he escaped shipwreck in the storm of fanaticism which broke upon it on the death of Leo XIII. is a mystery on which these letters throw no light. An occasional phrase points to an unreconciled conflict; he speaks of institutional religion as his "hairshirt," and of the Church as his "deepest pain." So, too—"Do not dwell much upon, or worry about, the Pope":—"Promise you will instantly drop every word of Dante's 'Inferno.' I myself have never dared to read more than scraps of it":—"I warn you against Church Societies, Eucharistic Guilds, Church Newspapers, Conferences, confabulations," &c. This is a different atmosphere from that of the *sentire cum Ecclesia* of St. Ignatius. "Certainly the gods exist," says Diotima; "but they exist in a manner peculiar to themselves." Von Hügel was a Catholic; if you will, a 100 per cent. Catholic. But—he was so in a singular, almost a unique, sense of the word.

His intention was not to proselytize—at least directly. "I never want to convert any soul that is practising in good faith what religion it possesses." And—"He told me often of people who had changed under his influence and had become poor or even non-practising Catholics; and how he felt himself to blame for having unsettled them." But systematic training given by a teacher of his impressive personality could scarcely end in any but one way. Not that he was one-sided; the reverse was the case; he encouraged his pupils to practise many non-religious interests in their lives. "He said that it was my duty to do a great amount of reading," his editor tells us; and the list of authors and subjects which he proposed suggests the thoroughness of a German University—history ancient and modern; the Greek



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and Latin classics; the Fathers; works on statuary and numismatics; "at his death, we were just starting on Indian religions": he was a voluminous teacher, in the literal sense of the word.

His limitations were characteristic. He disliked what he called "that atrocious eighteenth century"; one sometimes doubted whether he would have admitted that in religion, as elsewhere, two and two were four. "He never gave me any clever books: he could not bear clever people; clever people (he said) never think." Of an able woman of this type his criticism was that she was "a Dean Inge in petticoats"; Dean Rashdall "has as much mysticism in him as my old boot"; Stanley was a "brilliant superficiality." He had little in common with English Modernists; and had (it seems) a special "down" on Deans. He was *mal vu* at Rome and among representative Catholics. Great as his influence was over educated and religiously minded Protestants—in particular over Anglicans of the older Tractarian type—it was a negligible quantity with his own co-religionists. He received no mark of official recognition of any sort or kind; no *Imprimatur* was prefixed to his writings: fortunately for himself, he was not a priest; but, if he had been one, and it had rained mitres, none would have fitted his head. During the later years of Leo XIII. he was much in Rome, and acted with some success as an *officier de liaison* between the Vatican and the French Modernists. When the inevitable parting of the ways came, he was faced by the conflict between the religious and the intellectual conscience which arose. He felt himself bound to follow the former. He was, no doubt, in his right in doing so; the case, as it presented itself to him, was one of antagonistic duties. He did not, perhaps, always remember that there were those who felt it imperative upon them to solve it on other lines and in another sense. But he was one of those elect souls to whom it is given to discern beneath the turbid flood of popular religion, take what form it will, "cette petite source Aréthuse qui continue sa course, cette petite suite de la grâce, plus profonde, plus cachée, mais qui existe pourtant."

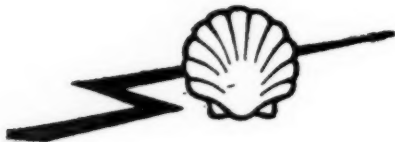
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**The Cambridge History of India. Vol. III.—Turks and Afghans.**  
Edited by SIR WOLSELEY HAIG. (Cambridge University Press. 42s.)

THIS volume deals with the Moslem invasions and the Hindu struggle to keep religion and independence, between the thirteenth century and the coming of Babar. No section of this vast enterprise, the "Cambridge History of India," is concerned with such intractable materials or depends on such uncertain sources. It must be added that none will have a story which is harder to make of interest. It is a succession of battles amid mist; you see human mobs, as apparently devoid of individuality as a swarm of lemmings, sweeping now to this corner of India, now to that, sometimes checked, sometimes disappearing on the swampy or snowy frontiers, Assam or Himalayan forest. It is depressing reading, a record of fiendish cruelty and horrible suffering, of executions, assassinations, of arrogance and despair. It had to be told, that the "History" might be complete; it has been told with immense learning and labour, and criticism must be tempered with constant recognition of how difficult the editor's task was. Of the 640 pages of text all but 190 are by him.

Yet this volume reinforces a doubt already roused by the previous volume, "Ancient India." The "Cambridge History of India" so far conveys an impression of sprawling rather than marching, of vagueness and blurred effects. Any page of this volume bristles with dates and details; but of national movements or of anything solid being built upon these shifting sands the reader can carry away little memory. The multiplication of petty deeds, usually sordid, overwhelms and stuns. I grant the immense, the almost insuperable, difficulty of avoiding this preponderance of waves over tide; but it has to be done somehow, if a historical work is to be anything but a work of reference. The reader is entitled to some guidance; after all, something more was happening in India than the passage of a never-ceasing flood of invasion and warfare.

For one thing, the foundations were being laid of that Muhammadan realm in Northern India whose main lines have persisted through all outward political change. These swiftly assassinated kings and sultans were (to shift the metaphor) swellings that left a silt from each subsidence. Already the limits which were to circumscribe Muhammadan empire could be discerned. The fortresses and deserts of Rajputana stood out against that empire, never to be altogether submerged. In the extreme south of the peninsula, that fierce little kingdom, Vijayanagar, made a place where Hindu opposition could concentrate and endure until it went down before an alliance of four Moslem States, at the battle of Talikota, in 1565. In the east, the last independent Hindu King of Bengal, Lakshman Sen, flees before a handful of raiders (*circa* 1200); but Assam kept its native kings for another six centuries and more. Even within the region where the Muhammadan floods swept, Hinduism saved its islands, such as the sometimes independent, sometimes semi-independent, kingdom of Vishnupur (which I hope will find mention in the next volume). This, admittedly, was the period of Moslem insurgence; yet (I think) it will be felt that the Muhammadan part of the volume is overloaded, and that the Hindu story suffers. The editor has taken in hand the long overdue sifting of the highly coloured accounts of the Rajput bards; but there is an element of arbitrariness and caprice in his criticism. Tod tells the picturesque story of Ala-ud-din's alleged infatuation for the beautiful Padmani, wife of the Chitor Rana—a story which ends with the women, led by Padmani, passing to their pyres in the underground caverns (by a way which can still be followed to a point where a wall blocks it). This story Sir Wolseley Haig, though observing that "the history of Chitor at this time is hopelessly confused, owing to the silence of the Muslim historians and the discrepancies between the Hindu legends and the few facts known," rejects *in toto*, yet keeps the tale of the six hundred litters supposed to contain the Queen and her attendants, but really carrying armed men to rescue her husband. Why this most improbable detail of all should be accepted (as part of the very circumstantial account now given—despite the admitted dearth of authori-



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ties) and Padmani's death in the fire be roundly denied, I do not know. Nor do I know on what grounds the Jaisalmer tradition of that city's destruction is denied. A people's assertion of catastrophic misfortunes is unlikely to be without foundation, however much bards invent detail and confuse dates. Is not this new volume of the "Cambridge History" perilously at the mercy of chance and the archaeologist's spade?

It is pleasant to have Professor Krishnaswami Ayyangar's soberly told chapter on the Hindu States in Southern India. Sir Denison Ross writes of Gujarat and Khandesh; two extremely brief chapters on Burma and Ceylon, by Mr. Harvey and Professor Wickremasinghe, jut in with more or less relevance upon an attention already strained; Sir John Marshall concludes the volume with a welcome account of the Monuments of Muslim India, which are illustrated by fifty excellent plates. The volume has the necessary apparatus of a standard work of reference, Bibliographies, Index, and Maps.

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**The Far East.** By PAYSON J. TREAT. (Harper. 16s.)

THIS volume purports to be a Political and Diplomatic History of the Far East for students and general readers. It is hard to see how it can be of any particular value to the former since it is almost entirely undocumented, and gives a most inadequate account of those ethical-religious ideas on which so much of the older civilization of China was based. Moreover, the dubious character of many of the concessions granted to foreigners, obtained as they were in the general atmosphere of corruption which prevailed in Peking, is not sufficiently analyzed. No fact is mentioned here which is not to be found in many similar manuals.

The book is slightly more useful to the general reader. Even the haze of Professor Treat's flat and uninspiring style cannot conceal the black recital of the contact of the West with the East, one of the most shameful episodes in the history of mankind and one of the least investigated by historians. It is difficult to think well of the human race when one reads how in one country after another their superior resources in armaments were used by the European voyagers to exploit and plunder the Eastern peoples. The record can be traced from the atrocities committed by Magellan's companions to the destruction of the Summer Palace in 1860, and the looting of Peking after the Relief of the Legations.

The Professor is unconsciously candid when he depicts how the foreigners in the Treaty Ports hesitated whether to aid the Government or the rebels in the Taiping rebellion of 1850-65. Their doubt was not in the least which victory would help China, but merely which party would do more for the interests of the aliens! Incidentally, the final victory of the Manchus through Gordon's help thwarted the natural reaction of the Chinese people to a dynasty which had become effete, namely, to get rid of it by means of a rising.

While the British are rebuked, if mildly, for their share in the forcing of opium into China during last century, Professor Treat's vision, like that of some other scholars nearer home, becomes dulled when it is a question of his own nationals. His account of the Philippines omits all mention of the ruthless massacres of the Moros by the American Army in the first years of this century.

Perhaps the greatest omission is the absence of a clear-cut view of what is going on in China now. The Middle Kingdom is passing through the experience of a new birth. Despite the burden of tradition and the faultiness of the human agents, all the elements of a great Renaissance are present. New China can show a Western-trained student class with a vivid interest in education and a strong desire for all modern mechanical devices. Equally significant developments include the rapid increase of trade unionism, a growth of agrarian radicalism, and the beginning of feminine emancipation as exemplified in such able women as Mrs. Sun Yat Sen and the American-educated wife of President Chiang Kai Shek. No power on this earth can chain the East to-day.

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THE documents selected by Mr. Dugdale are taken from the colossal "Die Grosse Politik der Europäischen Kabinette, 1871-1914," containing the documents from the German archives edited by Bartholdy, Thimme, and Lepsius. The collection was completed two years ago by the publication of the fifty-fourth volume. From this enormous mass, Mr. Dugdale is apparently making a selection which will eventually fill four volumes. His first volume deals mainly with Bismarck's relations with England, 1871 to 1890, and the documents which he translates are derived from the first six German volumes. The selection has been quite well done, but naturally it only skims the surface of the ocean of material. The documents are grouped by Mr. Dugdale under subjects, e.g., the war scare of 1875, the Berlin Congress, the German Colonial Question.

In the other volume Dr. Gooch and Mr. Temperley continue their admirable editing of documents from the British archives. This volume, while containing no startling revelations, is historically of exceptional interest. It covers the Macedonian problem, and the annexation of Bosnia. Not the least valuable portion is to be found in the first chapter of the volume, Chapter XXX., which gives a survey of the position of the Turkish Empire and its system of government in the first decade of this century, composed of extracts of dispatches and annual reports. The chapters dealing with the Turkish revolution of 1908 and with Aehrenthal's policy and the annexation of Bosnia are, of course, also of great interest, though they do not add much of great importance to what we knew before.

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THIS admirable book of reference, indispensable to the modern bibliophil, is as carefully compiled as ever. To turn over its pages is to see at once the enormous increase in price in those books which have in recent years attracted the collector. One notes, for instance, that Jane Austen's "Mansfield Park," first edition, which five years ago was selling for less than £10, now fetches £48.



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## AUCTION BRIDGE

By CALIBAN.

## CALLING TWO NO-TRUMPS OVER ONE

**I**N my last article I discussed certain aspects of the informatory double of One No-Trump. In both of the examples given, this was seen to work out unfavourably in comparison (1) with passing, and (2) with the bolder alternative of a call of Two No-Trumps over the adversaries' One. Now a couple of examples *prove* nothing, and it may well be argued that both of those given were unfair to the double, since the suit called by the doubler's partner was in both cases his (the doubler's) worst. But this, obviously, is the suit that is most likely to be called. This is a consideration that American double "fans" are inclined to overlook.

After giving the double of One No-Trump a fairly extended trial, my own conclusions in regard to it are these:—

(1) It often "comes off"—or appears to do so; i.e., it produces a call from one's partner which is tactically fairly successful. But in the majority of cases where this occurs the same result would have been arrived at without the intervention of the informatory double.

(2) It often does not "come off," and then it tends to be expensive. Properly used, it should not, of course, lead to positive disaster, but it frequently does prove of great assistance to one's opponents, on account of the valuable information (as to the position of winning cards) that the doubler gives away.

(3) On balance, I believe that where one's hand justifies an informatory double (essentially a defensive call) an attacking call of Two No-Trumps is usually the better policy. It is this (perhaps startling) proposition that I should like now to discuss.

Here is an interesting hand taken from actual play:—

♠ A K		
♥ Q 10 4 3 2		
♦ K J 10		
♣ Q 7 6		
♠ 9 8 5 3	Y	♠ J 10 6
♥ 5	A B	♥ K 7
♦ 9 7 3	Z	♦ A Q 8 4
♣ K 9 8 4 2		♣ A J 10 3
♠ Q 7 4 2		
♥ A J 9 8 6		
♦ 6 5 2		
♣ 5		

Score: YZ 10, AB 16 in the rubber game.

Y dealt and called One No-Trump; B doubled; Z called Two Hearts; A passed. Y raised his partner's call of Two Hearts to Three Hearts, AB made no further call, and YZ went game and rubber.

There is nothing out of the ordinary about this. But the interesting fact (disclosed by a *post-mortem* on the hand) is that if B, instead of doubling, had called Two No-Trumps (as I think he would have been justified in doing), there would have been no further calling, and game and rubber would have gone, not to YZ, but to AB. (It is true that in this event Z should, at the score, have called Three Hearts over B's Two No-Trumps. The result would then have been the same as before. But Z's own assertion was that it would not have occurred to him to do so.)

What is the moral that this hand is intended to illustrate? It is this. An informatory double of One No-Trump is only likely to be successful where it is made on a hand containing four or five probable tricks. With such a holding, a call of Two No-Trumps (when made by the player on the left of the No-trumper) is little more risky than the informatory double. For if an informatory double is made, and (a) the original caller's partner holds a strong hand, he will redouble the One No-Trump, and then his opponents, whatever they do, may well find themselves in difficulties. And if (b) the original caller's partner does *not* hold a strong hand, his opponents are well placed for a call of Two No-Trumps, since they know that their winning cards are more favourably situated than those of their adversaries. In either case, the balance of argument seems to be with the bolder call.

To put the matter in a nutshell, the double of One No-Trump is a defensive call; the call of Two No-Trumps is an aggressive one; and at Bridge, as in so many forms of combat, attack is the best defence.

## THE OWNER-DRIVER

## DUAL IGNITION—EFFICIENT AND CHEAP

**W**HEN people ask whether I prefer coil or magneto ignition, the answer is, "Every car ought to be equipped with both." But although I have owned over a score cars since the war, not one was fitted with both magneto and coil when it was delivered by the makers. A most excellent all-British model which cost me nearly £1,000 stopped in a crowded provincial city before it was three weeks old owing to a magneto breakdown. The next day I ordered the best dual ignition set I knew of. It seemed a costly indulgence, but the best car in the world is no use to me unless it gives trouble-free service, and if there is one worry more exasperating than another it is faulty ignition.

For easy starting and slow running nothing beats the coil-and-battery, but there is always a fear that through the coil not being switched off when the car is garaged, the accumulators may be run down. There is no such risk with a magneto—an instrument I am loth to dispense with.

During the Motor Show in October a good friend suggested I should examine a new dual ignition set called the "Voltex." Much impressed, I ordered one and fitted it in place of the more expensive system I had been using.

It has been on trial two months, and I must admit it has so far given the most perfect ignition results I have ever experienced.

For high speed work I have hitherto given preference to a magneto, but I can "rev" my engine up to its maximum speed, tackle a steep hill, and change over from magneto to coil and back again every second, without detecting the slightest difference in the running!

This is a test which no other dual ignition system has passed on any car I have owned, although I have seen similar results on a couple of cars priced at between two and three thousand pounds.

Anything better than a "Voltex" set no one need wish for, and yet the magneto costs no more than an ordinary make, whilst the auxiliary coil, complete with switch, is only £1 extra. Dual ignition, therefore, is now within reach of every car-owner for 20s. more than the cost of magneto alone.

With a spare coil and a spare condenser—obtainable, I think, for something less than 30s.—one could venture to take a foreign tour, even to parts where no garages exist, without fear of being stranded through ignition failure.

Apart from the dual nature of the "Voltex" bat-mag. ignition, the magneto itself is a very interesting instrument. Profiting by aeroplane experience, the Rotor revolves in substantial ball bearings, and helical gears ensure quiet and perfect running. The magnetic circuit gives a very fierce spark at incredibly low speeds, so, even without the addition of the coil, starting from cold is facilitated. Risk of breakdown is reduced to a minimum, because slip rings, revolving windings, and the carbon brush, liable to cause "tracking," are eliminated. Efficient stationary windings are used, and these are insulated by being encased in a Bakerlite type of material. There is adequate protection against damp, and the distributor and contact breaker can be easily inspected. No small spanner is needed to adjust the points; that may be done with an ordinary screwdriver. The condenser, in a waterproof tube, is housed in the contact breaker cup (theoretically the best position), and this can be replaced without dismantling the whole magneto.

In the eyes of Owner-Drivers these are solid advantages, and I shall be surprised if they do not lead to some notable changes in British-made ignition systems. The "Voltex" is of French design, and since its manufacture was commenced in November, 1927, I am told the production in France has reached 3,500 weekly. Messrs. A. Rist (1927), Ltd., of Lowestoft, are manufacturing the "Voltex" under licence in this country, and giving two years' guarantee.

The new pump-type of carburettor, about which I have written recently, and ignition progress on the "Voltex" lines, will do much to cure engine starting troubles and minimize ignition problems.

By the way, instead of "tapping" my 12-volt accumulators for a low voltage, as has been my practice hitherto, I am using the full 12 volts for the "Voltex." This is ideal; but coils of lower voltage are available.

RAYNER ROBERTS.

*Bona-fide readers of THE NATION may submit any of their motor inquiries to our Motoring Correspondent for his comments and advice. They should be addressed: Rayner Roberts, THE NATION AND ATHENÆUM, 38, Great James Street, Bedford Row, London, W.C.1.*



COMPANY MEETING.

BRITISH-AMERICAN TOBACCO CO., LTD.

The 26th annual general meeting of British-American Tobacco Co., Ltd., was held on Monday at the offices of the Company, Westminster House, 7, Millbank, S.W.1.

Sir Hugo Cunliffe-Owen, Bt. (the Chairman), in the course of his speech, said: Taking the Assets side of the Balance Sheet first, you will observe that the item of Real Estate and Buildings at cost less provision for the amortization of leaseholds, £569,059, shows an increase of £38,370 as compared with last year. This is accounted for by the purchase of some leasehold property and by additional factory buildings which we are erecting.

Goodwill, trade marks, and patents remain at the same figure as last year, viz., £200,000, and, in view of the great value of the Company's trade marks, the Directors remain of the opinion that this item should appear on the Balance Sheet, even if only at the nominal value of £200,000.

Loans to and Current Accounts with your Associated Companies, £5,434,405, show a small increase of £43,774.

Investments in British Government Securities and other Investments at market price, £275,228, show an increase of £236,195 on September 30th last. This increase is chiefly due to a temporary investment.

Investments in Associated Companies show an increase from £20,135,601 to £20,931,081. This is the largest item on the Assets side, and shows an increase this year of £795,480. This is accounted for by the increase of your investments in Associated Companies and in the purchase of new businesses. As I mentioned last year, the actual value of your proportion of the net tangible assets of these Associated Companies considerably exceeds the figure at which the investments are carried in the books of your Company.

Stocks of Leaf, Manufactured Goods and materials at cost or under, now stand at £6,269,490, or an increase of £616,597. This is chiefly due to the increase in the purchase of leaf tobacco to meet increasing business. The Stocks of Leaf, Manufactured Goods and Materials have been carried at cost or under as in previous years.

The accounts show a net profit for the year, after deducting all charges and expenses and providing for Income Tax, of £6,563,559, an increase of £209,464 over the previous year, which the Directors trust you will consider satisfactory.

Last year we carried forward a balance of £4,277,468, out of which we paid a final dividend of One Shilling and Eight Pence per share (free of Income Tax) amounting to £1,958,353, which left us with a disposable balance of £2,319,115.

During the year some additional Coupons have been deposited with us in respect of the shares issuable in pursuance of the Extraordinary Resolution of the Shareholders of June 21st, 1926, and we have allotted to Shareholders 630 Ordinary Shares of £1 each, and a sum of £630 has to be deducted from the balance, leaving £2,318,485. To this must be added the profits for the year, £6,563,559, less the Preference dividend amounting to £225,000, and the four interim dividends paid on the Ordinary Shares for the year amounting to £3,920,872, leaving a disposable balance of £4,736,173, out of which the Directors recommend the distribution on January 24th next of a final dividend (free of British Income Tax) on the issued Ordinary Shares of 1s. 8d. per share, amounting to £1,961,686, leaving £2,774,486 to be carried forward, all of which is required in the operations of the Company.

Let me draw your attention to the fact that the figures which we are now discussing refer to the Company's business as of September 30th last year. Since that time we have issued to Shareholders shares in the Tobacco Securities Trust Company Limited—therefore, the changes in our Balance Sheet—which this proceeding renders necessary—do not appear in the Accounts now before you and will not appear until you have before you the Accounts for the current year.

I am sure you will all share the regret that my Co-Directors and I feel at the death of our Co-Director, the late Sir George Wills, who was an outstanding figure in the Tobacco business, and whose name is a household word to all of us.

We have been fortunate in that Sir Gilbert Wills, Chairman of that great undertaking, the Imperial Tobacco Company (of Great Britain and Ireland), Limited, has joined our Board, and I am sure that you will welcome him.

Results for the year under review in nearly all parts of the world were, I am glad to say, very satisfactory.

This is greatly due to the good management and efficiency of the Boards of Directors of the Associated Companies and the loyalty of their respective staffs.

CURRENT YEAR'S BUSINESS

I am very pleased to be able to tell you that your business for the first three months of the current year continues to be satisfactory.

The report and accounts were unanimously adopted.

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## FINANCIAL SECTION

## THE WEEK IN THE CITY

## AUSTRALIAN FINANCE AGAIN—RUBBER—OIL—BEIRA RAILWAY

THE Commonwealth of Australia is now asking for £8,000,000 on behalf of itself and the Australian States. The week before it was New Zealand asking for £7,000,000 in cash, and the week before that it was India for £10,000,000. It must be a little painful for the City to be reminded three weeks in succession of the "preference" which is perforce given in the money market to the Dominions and Colonies over all other borrowers. In view of this new Australian loan, we hope some publicity will be given to the report just issued by the British Economic Mission to Australia. Between 1922 and 1927 the interest on the total Australian debt, it is pointed out, had risen from £89,784,000 to £52,122,000, of which the amount available from revenue-producing assets was £24,430,000, and the balance provided for by taxation £27,692,000. "The position"—to quote the report—"is more serious as regards the States Debts. The proportion available for revenue-producing assets fell, and the portion covered by taxation rose to 68 per cent. of the total. This position results from the heavy expenditure of loan capital by the States on developmental undertakings which have not proved self-supporting and have imposed a heavy burden on the general community by raising the cost of living and production."

The Mission stresses the importance of making the Australian State railways pay their way, even if it should mean higher rates or drastic economies. At present the railways are earning an average of 3½ per cent. Attention is also directed to the practice of using borrowed capital for revenue purposes by the expedient of taxing at the Customs loans which come in in the form of merchandise. There may be less force in this point now that the interest due in London on Australian debt comes to about £25,000,000 a year. As Australia is borrowing overseas about £40,000,000 a year, there is no doubt a cross-entry enabling loan money to pay the interest, leaving a balance of £15,000,000 which may or may not be spent in the form of merchandise from this country. The Economic Mission concludes that Australia's creditors "have no cause whatever for present anxiety," but they advise a closer investigation of future development works and the restriction of Government activities in this field. As we have previously said, everything now depends upon whether the Australian Loan Council will be successful in changing the heart as well as the technique of the borrowing Governments.

Markets have been showing an inclination to chase hares. Perhaps that is a sign of lack of stability following on the influence of American incursions. Rhodesian copper shares were the quarry last week: this week it has seen rubber shares. The excitement seems to have been started by a Mincing Lane broker being caught short of a few thousand tons of rubber. It will be remembered that stocks had been accumulated on British estates during the six months ending November 1st to the extent of about 115,000 tons. It was expected that heavy arrivals would be seen in London in the three months following November 1st. Shipments to America in November and December were certainly high—being over 65,000 tons a month as compared with a restriction average of 20,000 tons a month—but arrivals in London were unexpectedly low, and this caused the "bears" to cover. The price of spot rubber moved up last week from 8½d. to 10½d. per lb., and on Monday this week speculative buying as well as "bear" covering took it up to 11½d. It has now subsided to 9½d. It seems too early yet to talk of a boom in rubber. There have been some extravagant estimates of American production of automobiles in 1929—one estimate being 7,000,000 units, as compared with 4,650,000 units in 1928—and one dealer in the rubber market has put the world production of rubber for 1929 at 695,000 tons, and world consumption at 710,000 tons. All these are mere guesses. Seeing that a large number of the rubber companies have sold their

rubber forward at fixed prices in 1929, it requires extreme courage to purchase rubber shares at prices which indicate that the market is temporarily short of stock.

The oil share market appears to have shown fright at the rise in the crude oil production of the United States. This is now 2,591,000 barrels a day, which is the highest level ever reached, and, if the experts are to be believed, it is going higher still. Indeed, in the next six months, with the tapping of certain deep sands in Southern California and the development of a new pool in West Texas, it may reach 2,800,000 barrels a day in spite of "restriction." Last year the United States produced about 900,000,000 barrels, which was about 26,000,000 barrels in excess of consumption—not quite so bad a surplus as in 1927 (65,453,000 barrels), but bad enough. The seriousness of this situation is fully realized by the leading producers in America, and efforts are being made to tighten up restriction, but even if a bad break in oil prices is prevented, the possibility of a rise must be given up for the present. The American oil industry did not do badly to begin the year 1928 with bulk gasoline at 5¼ cents a gallon (ex Oklahoma refinery) and finish it with that commodity at 8½ cents. Lower prices will now probably be seen, because more gasoline is being manufactured by "cracking" fuel oil as well as by producing more crude oil.

The oil situation should, however, be interpreted with discrimination. It is true that the production outlook does not favour the producing companies, such as Lobitos, Anglo-Ecuadorian, or Apex (Trinidad). But the big international groups are not in the least affected except that a period of low crude oil prices enables them to buy part of their supplies very cheaply. There is also the move towards world co-operation. The formation of the American Oil Exporters' Association, of which every American oil company of importance is now a member, is the biggest event which happened in the oil industry in 1928. We presume that the American Exporters will get together with the Royal Dutch-Shell-Anglo-Persian group in the East. As soon as the big international combines can draw their supplies from the nearest "allied" source of supply, their operating expenditures will be reduced enormously. We therefore see no harm in buying Royal Dutch and Shell in their present reaction to 32½ and 4½, especially as the yields obtainable are 6.15 per cent. gross and 5.15 per cent. free of tax respectively. Shell are now quoted ex bonus, and up to January 31st the market will also deal in "rights," which at the time of writing are about 14s. 6d.

The odd and complicated position of the Beira Railway is not conducive to market interest, but it is particularly worth examining at the present time. The Company is controlled by the British South Africa Company ("Chartered"), and its 168 miles of line connecting Port Beira in Portuguese East Africa with Umtali on the Rhodesian frontier are worked (as from September, 1927) by the Rhodesia Railways Company. The traffic to and from the Rhodesian mines passes over this line, and is steadily increasing. The Company has no share capital: the proprietary interest in it has been divided into 600,000 parts or shares, held by "Chartered" as to about two-thirds, and the Mozambique Company. The Stock Exchange deals in the bearer certificates to these parts. For the year ending September, 1927, the Company's net earnings worked out at nearly 3s. 6d. per share. For the year ending September, 1927, the Company's net earnings worked out at nearly 3s. 6d. per share. For the year ending September, 1928, it is estimated that the net earnings per share will amount to over 5s. This leaves room for a dividend and the market is expecting one of 2s. per share. At the present price of 30s. 6d. the certificates would yield over 6½ per cent. on dividends and over 16 per cent. on estimated earnings.



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